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GREEK
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COLLEGE
MURRAY

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GREEK COMPOSITION
FOR COLLEGES

WITH EXTRACTS FOR SIGHT-TRANSLATION

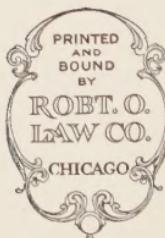
BY

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PREFACE

This book has grown out of a need in my own freshman classes of a book that would supply material for work in Greek Composition adapted to college use. To supply the material is its main purpose; as to its use complete freedom is left to the individual teacher.

That the reading and the writing of Greek should go hand in hand is a view now, I think, universally held; and this end is best attained if the English exercises are based upon the text of some Greek author. I have, from firm conviction of the wisdom of the course, used a number of Greek authors, and have therefore printed the Greek. There is no one author universally read during the freshman year, so that it could be assumed that the Greek text would already be in the hands of the students, and, if there were, I should none the less have chosen the present course. For it seems to me better that the exercises should not all be based upon the text of a single author, however interesting and important that author might be. Monotony is thus avoided, the student's interest is increased—a matter of prime importance—and at the same time he is introduced to a broader field.

The bulk of the book consists, naturally, of extracts from the historians, and the arrangement is roughly chronological, although, for obvious reasons, Xenophon precedes Thucydides and Herodotus has been put last. The extracts cover the most important and the most interesting events in the history of the fifth century, and I have purposely given parallel accounts of the same event where it seemed

feasible. The student will thus learn a little history at first hand, and will be brought face to face with historical problems. For his further guidance references to the larger histories of Greece accompany the extracts; those to Grote are to John Murray's ten volume edition. The teacher will, of course, follow his own judgment in reading all of the parallel accounts, or in omitting some; and he will, doubtless, often choose to supplement the matter here given by other passages, speeches from the historians, and extracts from the orators, which are not included. Oratory is obviously ill-adapted to the purpose of this book; the passages taken from Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes are narrative, not rhetorical, and must not be regarded by the student as wholly characteristic.

Historical narrative, however, even if drawn from various authors, orators as well as historians, should not be the only basis for work of this sort. Simple narrative is, of course, desired, and historical narrative most readily suggests itself; but, if no other authors are used, the student's work will inevitably be of a more or less stereotyped form, and the breadth of view desired will, at best, be attained in a measure only. Hence I have included something from Plato—and the dramatic opening of the *Protagoras* is unsurpassed in vividness and interest—some stories less distinctly historical, drawn from various sources, a few of Lucian's dialogues, and a single sample of late sophistic writing, taken from Achilles Tatius. For these last, and for the inclusion of Herodotus in his Ionic dress, I make no apology. The hints given in the notes and the suggestions of the teacher will prevent corruption of the student's pure Attic, and he will enjoy his work more, and, I am convinced, gain more by their inclusion. Some supplementary exercises, based upon Plato's *Apology* and *Crito*, have been added at the end. For these it seemed needless to print the Greek.

In the treatment of the text I have taken few liberties.

In the main, save that words usually enclosed in brackets have been omitted altogether, it will be found to agree with that of standard editions, although in a few words, *μείγνυμι*, *ἀθρόος*, etc., the spelling has been made to conform to newer standards.

The notes to the Greek extracts are meant to afford such help as the student will need for sight translation. They, therefore, do little more than supply the meanings of the less familiar Greek words, and it should be said that the translations given are meant to be suggestive rather than final. In this much depends on the teacher, and no book can take his place. To each English exercise I have also appended a few notes, which supply the words not directly suggested by the Greek text and give an occasional hint as to syntax. Some will, perhaps, miss references to the grammars, but, by the time the student takes up work of this sort, he should be able to use his grammar for himself, and, in general, the Greek upon which the exercise is based will be his guide in syntax as in vocabulary.

Brief biographical introductions have been prefixed to the first extract from each author. If referred to by even a few students their insertion is justified. In these, and throughout the book, I have retained the conventional spelling of the proper names, from a desire to avoid all semblance of pedantry.

My thanks are due to Dr. Edward Capps, of the University of Chicago, for helpful suggestions and for assistance in seeing the book through the press.

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GREEK COMPOSITION

ABBREVIATIONS

| | | | |
|---------|---|------------|---------------------------------|
| abs. | = absolute, absolutely. | infin. | = infinitive. |
| acc. | = accusative. | intr. | = intransitive, intransitively. |
| act. | = active, actively. | l. | = line. |
| adj. | = adjective, adjectively. | Lat. | = Latin. |
| adv. | = adverb, adverbial, adverbially. | lit. | = literally. |
| aor. | = aorist. | masc. | = masculine |
| apod. | = apodosis. | mid. | = middle. |
| appos. | = apposition, appositive. | neg. | = negative. |
| art. | = article. | neut. | = neuter. |
| attrib. | = attributive. | nom. | = nominative. |
| cf. | = confer, compare. | obj. | = object. |
| colloq. | = colloquial. | opp. | = opposite. |
| comp. | = comparative. | opt. | = optative. |
| cond. | = condition, conditional. | p., pp. | = page, pages. |
| conj. | = conjunction. | part. gen. | = partitive genitive. |
| dat. | = dative. | partic. | = participle. |
| def. | = definite. | pass. | = passive, passively. |
| dir. | = direct. | pers. | = person, personal. |
| disc. | = discourse. | pf. | = perfect. |
| e. g. | = for example. | pl. | = plural. |
| Eng. | = English. | plpf. | = pluperfect. |
| esp. | = especial, especially. | pred. | = predicate. |
| etc. | = and so forth. | prep. | = preposition. |
| f., ff. | = following (after numerical statements). | pres. | = present. |
| fem. | = feminine. | pron. | = pronoun. |
| fut. | = future. | prot. | = protasis. |
| gen. | = genitive. | refl. | = reflexive, reflexively. |
| i. e. | = that is. | rel. | = relative, relatively. |
| impers. | = impersonal, impersonally. | sc. | = scilicet. |
| impf. | = imperfect. | sing. | = singular. |
| imv. | = imperative. | subj. | = subject. |
| indef. | = indefinite. | subjv. | = subjunctive. |
| indic. | = indicative. | trans. | = transitive, transitively. |
| indir. | = indirect. | voc. | = vocative. |

GREEK COMPOSITION

I

THE BATTLE OF ARGINUSAE

Xenophon, "Hellenica," 1, 6, 24 ff.

[Xenophon, son of Gryllus, was by birth an Athenian of the deme Erchia. The date of his birth is uncertain. Much points to his having been a young man at the time of Cyrus's expedition—401 b.c.—which would place his birth, perhaps, about 431, but there is also a tradition that he served as knight at Delium (424), in which case the year 444 would be a probable one. This story is, however, of questionable authority. In either case his boyhood and youth fall in the period of Athenian greatness, and as a man he saw the strife of parties, the disasters to his country's arms, the tyranny of the Thirty, their expulsion, and the restoration of the democracy. We must, further, assume that he received the training of a well-to-do Athenian, and we know that he was the friend and disciple of Socrates.

In 401 he joined the expedition of Cyrus, and, on his return two years later, found that his people had put to death his beloved master. Furthermore a decree of banishment was passed against him, probably because of his Spartan affiliations. He, therefore, spent some years in military service in Asia Minor, in the course of which he was admitted to the friendship of the Spartan king Agesilaus,

and he was subsequently sent as a colonist to Scillus, in Elis, by the Spartans, and presented with an estate there. There he lived for fifteen or twenty years in leisure and in peace and there many of his numerous works were written. After this time, however, the Eleans conquered Scillus, but Xenophon escaped and took up his residence at Corinth. This may have been about 370 B.C.; and it is further recorded that the sentence of banishment against him was revoked at Athens, and that his two sons served in the Athenian cavalry at Mantinea. He, however, seems to have continued to reside at Corinth, devoting himself to literature. The date of his death is uncertain; but it was later than 359 B.C.

Besides the familiar *Anabasis*, his writings include: the *Hellenica*, a continuation of Thucydides's History; the *Cyropaedia*, a sketch of the ideal ruler in the person of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire, an historical Romance rather than a History; the *Memorabilia* of Socrates, a record of the sayings and doings of the great teacher; and a number of briefer tracts, political, military, and philosophical, some of which are of doubtful authenticity.

For the battle of Arginusae, see *Grote*, VI, pp. 392 ff.; *Curtius*, III, pp. 532 ff.; *Duruy*, III, II, pp. 383 ff.; *Cox*, II, pp. 544 ff.; *Holm*, II, pp. 502 ff.; *Abbott*, III, pp. 443 ff.]

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες¹ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἀπαντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς 5 δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν.² εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππέων πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν³ εἰς Σάμον, κάκειθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἔλαβον δέκα·

¹ εἰσβιβάζοντες = εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάζοντες, cf. 1. 9. ² ἀπῆραν, *put to sea*. ³ ἀνήχθησαν, *sailed*; cf. ἀναγωγήν, 1. 21.

ἥθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν
ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας,
10 ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω¹ οὖσαι. ἐγέ-
νοντο δὲ αἱ πάσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

Οὐ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἥδη ἐν
Σάμῳ οὖσαν, αὐτοῦ² μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ
ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχ-
15 θεὶς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ.
τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνοποιού-
μενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις. αὗται δὲ εἰσὶν ἀντίον τῆς
Μυτιλήνης. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἵδων τὰ πυρά, καὶ τινων
αὐτῷ ἔξαγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἴεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ
20 μέσας νύκτας, ὡς ἔξαπιναίως³ προσπέσοι. ὕδωρ δὲ
ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ⁴ διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀνα-
γωγήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν,⁵ ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπλει ἐπὶ τὰς
Ἀργινούσας. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ
πέλαγος τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὁδε. Ἀριστο-
25 κράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἥγεντο πεντεκαίδεκα
ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα.
ἐπετέτακτο⁶ δὲ Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι
δὲ Ἐρασινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα
ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾶς τεταγμένοι. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν
30 Σάμιος ὄνόματι Ἰππεύς· ἔχόμεναι δὲ αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων⁷
δέκα, καὶ αὗται ἐπὶ μιᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῦταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρ-

¹ ἔξω, abroad, on foreign service. ² αὐτοῦ, adv. there. ³ ἔξα-
πιναίως, suddenly, unexpectedly. ἔξαλφης is commoner. ⁴ βρονταὶ,
thunder; pl. because of successive claps. ⁵ ἀνέσχεν, ceased; cf. colloq.
Eng. held up. ⁶ ἐπετέτακτο, had been stationed behind, i.e. as a
support. ⁷ ταξιάρχων, officers who usually had command of the
hoplites of their several tribes. It is uncertain what the naval
sense of the word is.

χων¹ τρεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι ἥσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Θράσυλλος ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέ-
 35 τακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων τὰς ἵστας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δ' Ἀριστογένης. οὗτος δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν² διδοῦν· χεῖρον γὰρ ἐπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι ἥσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμέναι,
 40 διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλι-
 κρατίδας. Ἔρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον³ ἀποπλεῦ-
 σαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλείους
 45 ἥσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐ τέος μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται⁴ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόαι,⁵ ἐπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεώς ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἥφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον πλείστων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέπλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθη-
 55 ναίων νῆσος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς⁶

¹ ναυάρχων, of the nauarchs. Who these were is uncertain, possibly commanders of small squadrons. ² διέκπλουν, a favorite manoeuvre, breaking through the enemy's line and then wheeling and ramming him; cf. περίπλουν, I. 39 (turning his flank). ³ καλῶς ἔχον, consonant with honor. ⁴ οὐ δέος . . . οἰκῆται, there was no danger that Sparta would fare any the worse. ⁵ ἀθρόαι, all together. ⁶ ἐκτὸς, save.

δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν
 οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἔξη-
 κοντα. ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπτὰ
 60 μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύ-
 βουλον τριηράρχους¹ ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς
 πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκίας² ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν
 ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ
 65 Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας.³ ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν
 ἄνεμος καὶ χειμῶν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος·
 τροπαῖοι δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζοντο.⁴

A

When the Athenians heard that the fleet was blockaded⁵ in Mytilene they voted at once⁶ to go to its assistance. So they ordered all those of military age, both slaves and free-men, to embark, and many too⁷ of the knights. Thus one
 5 hundred and ten ships were manned. Then they set out and, arriving at Samos, collected many more ships from the Samians themselves and their allies. Thence they sailed to the Arginusae.

Meanwhile⁸ Callicratidas learned that the Athenians had
 10 sent a relief-squadron,⁹ and, leaving fifty ships, he put out from Mytilene with one hundred and twenty. Now as they were at Cape Malea, where they had landed¹⁰ for dinner,

¹ τριηράρχους, *captains*, freely. Strictly a trierarch was one who bore the expense of fitting out, and maintaining a war ship. The state supplied the vessel and paid the crew. ² καταδεδυκίας, *disabled*, freely; strictly, *sunk*. ³ ἐφορμούσας, *blockading*. ⁴ ηὐλίζοντο, *spent the night*, i.e. on land, as was customary.

⁵ *Blockaded*, *κατακλειώ*. ⁶ *At once*, *εὐθύς*. ⁷ *and ... too*, *δὲ καὶ*.
⁸ *Meanwhile*, *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ*. ⁹ *Relief squadron*, *βοήθεια*, simply. ¹⁰ *Had landed*, *ἐκβαῖνω*, with fut. partic., or imitate the text.

they saw the fires of the Athenians, and resolved¹ to sail against them during the night in order to take them unprepared;² but a heavy storm came on so that³ they were unable to do so.

B

At daybreak, however, when the storm had ceased, they put out to sea and sailed against the Athenians. Now these, when they saw the Peloponnesian fleet approaching, made ready⁴ and sailed out to meet them. They were arranged as follows:—Aristocrates, Diomedon, and others of the generals arranged their ships in a single line, but behind them others were stationed for support, so that the line was double⁵ for the most part.⁶ For in this battle the Athenian ships were inferior, manned as they were⁷ by inexperienced⁸ men, partly⁹ slaves and partly⁹ knights. The generals, therefore, feared that the enemy's ships might break through them, inasmuch¹⁰ as they were better sailors. Callicratidas, for the same reason, arranged his ships in a single line, commanding the right wing himself, and ready to break through the Athenians or to wheel around them. For he hoped¹¹ thus to win the victory, although¹² the Athenian ships were far more numerous than his own. In this, however, he was deceived.¹³

C

While these things were going on,¹⁴ Hermon of Megara said to Callicratidas (for he was the pilot of his ship): “They

¹ Resolved, δοκέω, impers. ² Unprepared, ἀπαράσκευος. ³ So that, ὥστε, with indic. ⁴ Made ready, παρασκευάζομαι. ⁵ Double = two deep. ⁶ For the most part, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. ⁷ Manned as they were, pass. partic. ⁸ Inexperienced, ἀπειρος. ⁹ Partly...partly, art. with μὲν and δέ. ¹⁰ Inasmuch as, ἀτε, with partic. ¹¹ Hoped, ἐλπίζω. ¹² Although, κατίπερ, with partic. ¹³ Deceived, ψεύδομαι, with gen. ¹⁴ Going on, γίγνομαι; use gen. abs.

are far more numerous than we, so that¹ it would be honorable for us to withdraw.''' But Callicratidas answered that
5 flight was always disgraceful and unworthy² of Sparta.

So they joined battle³ and fought fiercely⁴ until⁵ Callicratidas fell into the sea as his ship was ramming another. Then the Peloponnesians were worsted⁶ and fled, having lost seventy ships; and the Athenians, although victorious,
10 lost twenty-five ships with their crews. For Theramenes and Thrasylus, who were ordered⁷ by the generals to recover⁸ the men from the wrecked ships, were prevented by a heavy storm which came up. The rest of the fleet sailed against the fifty ships which Callicratidas had left to blockade⁹
15 Mytilene.

¹ So that, *ωστε*, with potential opt. ² Unworthy, *ἀνάξιος*, with gen.

³ Joined battle, *συμμετέγγυμι*. ⁴ Fiercely, *ἰσχυρῶς*. ⁵ Until, *ἕως*.

⁶ Were worsted, *νικῶμα*. ⁷ Who were ordered, impers. pass. ⁸ Recover, *ἀναλαμβάνω*. ⁹ To blockade, pres. partic.

II

AEGOSPOTAMI

Xenophon (see p. 9), "Hellenica," 2, 1, 23-29.

[Compare Plutarch, "Lysander," 10 and 11, and "Alcibiades," 36 and 37; and see Grote, VI, pp. 437 ff.; Curtius, III, pp. 549 ff.; Duruy, III, II, pp. 388 ff.; Cox, II, pp. 573 ff.; Holm, II, pp. 505 ff.; and Abbott, III, pp. 456 ff.]

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ¹ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τὸν Αἰγαῖον ποταμούς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας 5 τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας δὲ τι ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν² ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὗται ἥκουν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίει τέτταρας 10 ἡμέρας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τὸν μὲν³ Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ⁴ ὁρμοῦντας⁵ καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾶ πόλει, τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας⁶ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι⁷ καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὁρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι⁸ εἰς Σηστὸν παρήνει. 15 οὐδὲ ὅντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ

¹ ἐν μετώπῳ, *-facing*. ² ἐξεβίβασεν, *let his men disembark*. ³ ἐν αἰγιαλῷ, *on an open beach*. ⁴ ὁρμοῦντας, *anchored, moored*. ⁵ μετιόντας, *fetching, going for*. ⁶ λιμένι, *harbor*. ⁷ μεθορμίσαι, *to change anchorage*.

στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γάρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥχετο. Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς 3.114
 20 παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὰν κατίδωσιν αὐτὸὺς ἐκβεβη-
 κότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ
 ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, τά τε
 σιτία πόρρωθεν ὡνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονοῦντες¹ δὴ τοῦ
 Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμπα-
 25 λιν² παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι³ ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. 5.117
 οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε. Λύσανδρος δ'
 εὐθὺς ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν, συμπαρῆι δὲ καὶ
 Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἴδων τὸν ἐπίπλουν,
 ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκε-
 30 δασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι⁴
 ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί⁵ ἡ δὲ
 Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθη-
 σαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος,⁶ τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας
 Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους
 35 ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ
 τειχύδρια.⁷

A

When Alcibiades saw that the Athenians were anchored in an unfavorable⁸ place and had to⁹ procure their provisions

¹ καταφρονοῦντες, scorning, looking down on. δὴ is strongly ironical. ² τοῦμπαλιν, back. ³ ἄραι, to raise. ⁴ δίκροτοι, with but two banks of rowers (instead of three), cf. μονόκροτοι. ⁵ κεναί, empty, without their crews. ⁶ Πάραλος, one of the Athenian state-triremes. ⁷ τειχύδρια, diminutive of τεῖχος, walled villages.

⁸ Unfavorable, imitate the text. ⁹ Had to, use a verb of necessity, δεῖ, or the passive of ἀναγκάζω.

from a distance, he advised the generals to sail away to Sestus. "For there," he said, "you will have all that you 5 need."¹ But the generals would not² listen to him, saying that they were now in command, not he.

So they arranged their ships for battle each day, and when they saw that Lysander would not fight, withdrew. But Lysander sent swift ships to follow them, in order that 10 he might know what they did. On the fifth day he ordered those following them to raise a shield when they should see that the Athenians had landed and were dispersed. Then, sailing against them suddenly, he seized most of their ships, while still unmanned, and took captive all the men, save³ a 15 few⁴ who fled for refuge⁵ to the walled towns.

¹ *All that you need*, use generalized form. ² *Would not*, neg. with the impf., or insert *έθελω*; three lines below use the second form. ³ *Save*, *πλήν*, adv., or prep. with gen. ⁴ *Few*, *δλίγος*. ⁵ *Fled for refuge*, *καταφεύγω*.

III

THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF ATHENS

Xenophon (see p. 9), "Hellenica," 2, 2, 3 ff.

[See *Grote*, VI, pp. 442 ff.; *Curtius*, III, pp. 560 ff.; *Duruy*, III, II, pp. 391 ff.; *Cox*, II, pp. 582 ff.; *Holm*, II, pp. 505 ff.; and *Abbott*, III, pp. 461 ff. Parallel passages from *Lysias* are given in the following extracts, and *Plut.*, "Lysander," 13 and 14, should be consulted.]

'Εν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά,¹ καὶ οἰμωγὴ² ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἀστυ³ διῆκεν, ὁ ἔτερος τῷ ἔτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς 5 ἔκοιμήθη,⁴ οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες,⁵ ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτούς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὖν ἐποίησαν Μηλίους⁶ τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους⁷ ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαίεας⁸ καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους⁹ καὶ Αἰγινήτας¹⁰ καὶ ἄλλους

¹ συμφορά, calamity. ² οἰμωγή, sound of lamentation. ³ ἀστυ, city.

⁴ ἔκοιμήθη, slept. ⁵ πενθοῦντες, bewailing. ⁶ Μηλίους: Melos was subdued with great barbarity by Athens, 416 B.C. ⁷ ἀποίκους, colonists.

⁸ Ἰστιαίεας: Histiae, a town of Euboea, revolted from Athens in 445. When subdued, its inhabitants were expelled. ⁹ Σκιωναίους, Τορωναίους: Scione and Torone were towns in Chalcidice which revolted from Athens and were subsequently reduced (421). The whole male population of the former was put to death, of the latter carried captive to Athens, while women and children were sold as slaves.

¹⁰ Αἰγινήτας: the Aeginetans were expelled from their homes in 431.

10 πολλοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾧ ἔδοξε τούς τε λιμένας ἀποχῶσαι¹ πλὴν ἐνὸς καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν² καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἥσαν.

15 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο³ τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνην· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἐπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν.

20 εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἐλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς⁴ τῶν γυνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν⁵ καὶ εἰς Λακεδαιμονία διὰ προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί.

25 Δακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημεῖ⁶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Παυσανίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπαντες ἥθροισθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ.⁷ Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἴγινήταις, ὃσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὃσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο.⁸

¹ ἀποχῶσαι, *to block up.* ² εὐτρεπίζειν, *to set in readiness.* ³ κατεσκευάσατο, “reconstructed.” ⁴ σφαγάς, *massacre;* the pl. refers to the individuals slain. ⁵ Δεκέλειαν, an Attic deme about fifteen miles northeast of Athens, where a Spartan garrison had been established in 413, on the advice of Alcibiades. ⁶ πανδημεῖ, *with their whole force.* ⁷ Ἀκαδημείᾳ, the most famous of the Athenian gymnasia, to the north of the city, noted as the seat of Plato’s school. ⁸ ἐστέροντο, *had been deprived of.*

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηγώσας¹ Σαλαμῖνα ὥρμισατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα
85 εἴργε² τοῦ εἴσπλουν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἡπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν μὴ παθεῖν ἢ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν,
40 ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑβριν³ ἡδύκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μιᾶς αἰτίᾳ ἐτέρᾳ ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις⁴ συνεμάχουν. διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους⁵ ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν,⁶ καὶ ἀπὸ θυησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ⁷ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς.⁸ ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἥδη ὁ
45 σῖτος ἐπελεοίπει,⁹ ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ¹⁰ Ἀγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας¹⁰ ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Λακεδαιμονα ἐκέλευεν ἵέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος¹¹ αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπεμψαν αὐτὸν εἰς Λακεδαιμονα. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἥσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἴαπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγιν, αὐτόθεν¹² αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἰ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἥκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις
50 βεις ἐπεὶ ἥκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ὃντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔως ἀν πέμπωσιν ἐτέρους πρέσβεις,

¹ δηγώσας, *having ravaged*. ² εἴργε, *shut out*. ³ ὑβριν, *insolence, pride*. ⁴ ἐκείνοις, *i.e. the Spartans*. ⁵ ἀτίμους, *disenfranchised, the opp. of ἐπιτίμους*. ⁶ ἐκαρτέρουν, *held out*. ⁷ λιμῷ, *by famine*. ⁸ διαλλαγῆς, *a coming to terms*. ⁹ ἐπελεοίπει, *had given out*. ¹⁰ συνθήκας, *treaty*. ¹¹ κύριος, *empowered*. ¹² αὐτόθεν, *i.e. without even going to Lacedaemon*.

πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλεύειν. Αρχέ-
στρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ'
οῖς Λακεδαιμόνιοι προυκαλοῦντο¹ εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι,
ἔδειθη² προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα
σταδίους³ καθελεῖν ἑκατέρου· ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα⁴ μὴ
 ἔξειναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλεύειν.

Τοιούτων δὲ ὅντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι
 εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἦξει
 Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἔξανδρα ποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν
 βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἡ πίστεως ἔνεκα.
 πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε⁵ παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ
 70 πλέον, ἐπιτηρῶν⁶ ὅπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλε-
 λοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὃ τι τις λέγοι ὅμολογήσειν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνὶ, ἀπῆγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι
 αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν⁷ κατέχοι, εἴτα κελεύοι εἰς
 Λακεδαιμονά ἴεναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὅν ἐρωτῶτο ὅπ'
 75 αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἥρεθη πρεσ-
 βευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαιμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός.
 Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ'
 ἀλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον
 ὅντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι
 80 εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἥσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ
 ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἥκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ
 εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἐφόροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτούς.

¹ προυκαλοῦντο, offered. ² ἔδειθη, was thrown into prison. ³ ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους, practically a noun, a stretch of ten stadia. ⁴ ψήφισμα, decree. ⁵ διέτριβε, stayed, wasted (time). ⁶ ἐπιτηρῶν, waiting. ⁷ τέως μέν, for a time.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἥκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἦ ἀντέλεγον
 85 Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἔξαι-
 ρεῦν.¹ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα
 ἀνδραποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγί-
 στοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο
 90 εἰρήνην ἐφ' ὧ² τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ
 καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ
 τὸν φυγάδας καθέντας³ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχθρὸν καὶ φίλον
 νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γὴν καὶ
 κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἀν ἥγωνται. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ
 95 οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανέφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθή-
 νας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος⁴ περιεχεῖτο⁵ πολύς,
 φοβούμενοι μὴ ἀπρακτοὶ⁶ ἥκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει⁷
 μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ
 δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακε-
 100 δαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει⁸ δὲ αὐτῶν
 Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις
 καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ,
 πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι
 τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει
 105 εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῆσαν καὶ τὰ
 τείχη κατέσκαπτον⁹ ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων¹⁰ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ,
 νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς
 ἐλευθερίας.

¹ ἔξαιρεῖν, to destroy utterly. ² ἐφ' ὧ, with infin., on terms of.

³ καθέντας, allowing to return. ⁴ ὄχλος, crowd. ⁵ περιεχεῖτο, lit. poured itself around. ⁶ ἀπρακτοὶ, "re infecta." ⁷ οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει, for it was impossible. ⁸ προηγόρει, was their spokesman. ⁹ κατέσκαπτον, threw down. ¹⁰ ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων, to the music of flute-girls.

A

It was night when the Paralus reached Athens and the news of¹ the calamity was told. The whole city was filled with² the noise of lamentation and no one could sleep, for all knew that Lysander would presently³ come against them, 5 and that, if they should surrender,⁴ they would suffer the treatment they had themselves inflicted upon others of the Greeks who were allies of the Lacedaemonians. Nevertheless they convened the Assembly on the next day and resolved to prepare the city for a siege.

10 Lysander, however,⁵ did not sail at once against Athens, but went first to Lesbos and reconstructed the cities there, and thence to Aegina; for he wished to give their city back to the Aeginetans. Then he ravaged Salamis, and finally⁶ came to anchor off the Piraeus. Meanwhile he had sent 15 word⁷ to Agis at Decelea and to Pausanias at Lacedaemon that⁸ he would come, and they, on their part, had led a large army against Athens.

B

The Athenians then were besieged by land and sea and had no longer any hope⁹ of safety. For they had no ships and little food, and, seeing that¹⁰ the Piraeus was blockaded, no ships could come in. Nevertheless,¹¹ at first, they would 5 not talk of coming to terms; but when many were dying from famine and their food had wholly given out, they resolved to send an embassy to Agis, offering to make peace on terms of¹² becoming allies of the Lacedaemonians while¹³ retaining

¹ The news of, omit. ² Was filled with, πληπλημη. ³ Presently, αὐτίκα. ⁴ Surrender, ἐνδέωμε. ⁵ However, μέντοι. ⁶ Finally, τὸ τέλος. ⁷ Word = a messenger. ⁸ That = announcing (saying) that.

⁹ Hope, ἐλπίς. ¹⁰ Seeing that, gen. abs., with or without ἀτε. ¹¹ Nevertheless, δημοσ. ¹² On terms of, ἐφ' ϕτε, with infin. ¹³ While, omit.

their walls. But he would not even¹ talk with them of peace, so that they were forced² to go to Lacedaemon. And when they had come there, the Ephors, hearing what they had to say,³ bade them return, saying: "If you really⁴ have any desire for peace take better counsel than this." So they came back, and despair fell upon the city.

C

Now the Lacedaemonians offered them peace on condition of their destroying ten stadia of each⁵ of the long walls, but even now⁶ no one would speak of this. For they threw into prison Archestratus, who dared⁷ to say that this must be done. Finally Theramenes got up in the assembly and bade them choose him as envoy. "For," said he, "if you do this, I will find out why they hold out about the walls." So they chose him and sent him to Lysander.

But Theramenes, although the Athenians were starving, spent four months with Lysander⁸ and then came back, saying that they must send envoys to Lacedaemon, as Lysander had not full power. But really he wished them to be brought into such straits⁹ that they would agree to whatever any one might propose. So they chose him with nine others as ambassadors with full powers.

D

Those then went to Sparta, and, when¹⁰ they had told on what terms they had come, the Ephors convened an assembly

¹ Not even, οὐδέ. ² Were forced, ἀναγκάζομαι. ³ Had to say = said.

⁴ Really, τῷ δυντι.

⁵ Each, ἕκατερος, not ἔκαστος, as there were but two. ⁶ Even now . . . would, ἔθελω, and οὐδὲ νῦν. ⁷ Dared, τολμῶ. ⁸ With Lysander, παρά. ⁹ Be brought into such straits, οὔτως διάκειμαι.

¹⁰ When, ἐπειδή. The aor. is far commoner, even when the Eng. needs a plpf.

and bade summon them. In this assembly many declared that it would be better to make no truce with the Athenians 5 (and these were especially the Corinthians and the Thebans); but the Lacedaemonians did not think it right to enslave a city which had shown itself¹ a friend to Greece in its greatest dangers. So they offered peace on these terms:—that² they should destroy the long walls in their entirety and obey the 10 Lacedaemonians in all things.

When the ambassadors returned to Athens a great crowd thronged about them fearing this alone, that they had not accomplished anything; for now it was absolutely³ impossible to hold out longer. So they accepted the peace and the 15 long walls were torn down to the music of flute-girls, as though that day were⁴ the beginning of Greek freedom.

¹ *Had shown itself*, *γιγνομαι*, partic. ² *On these terms*:—*that*, *ἐπὶ τοῖσδε*, *ἐφ' ϕτε.* ³ *Absolutely*, *παντελῶς*. ⁴ *As though that day were*, *ὡσπερ*, with gen. abs.

IV

THE SIEGE AND NEGOTIATIONS

Lysias, 13, 5 ff.

[Lysias, son of Cephalus, was by birth a Syracusan, but his father had emigrated to Athens on Pericles's invitation, and had there amassed a large fortune. The traditional date of Lysias's birth is 459 B.C., but we have no sure knowledge. As a boy of fifteen he is said to have gone to Thurii, a colony in lower Italy which Pericles had founded, and there to have studied rhetoric under the famous Tisias. After the Sicilian disaster he returned to Athens (412). His wealth drew upon him the greed of the Thirty (404), and he barely escaped with his life. His property was confiscated, and his brother, Polemarchus, was put to death. Lysias became, therefore, an ardent supporter of Thrasybulus and the patriot party in the overthrow of the Thirty. After this he lived at Athens as a prominent rhetorician and speech-writer, and died sometime after 380.

In antiquity no less than four hundred and twenty-five speeches were current under the name of Lysias, of which number nearly half were considered spurious. We still possess thirty-four, of which some are incomplete, and some, besides, probably not genuine. The oration against Erasthenes, from which extracts V and VII are taken, is the most important of all, and is the only one that was delivered by Lysias himself.

The student will observe that Lysias's narrative differs in some respects from that of Xenophon. The orator is a pleader and does not speak without bias.

For historical references see the preceding section.]

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ νῆσεις αἱ ὑμέτεραι διεφθάρησαν καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀσθενέστερα ἐγεγένητο, οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον αἱ τε νῆσεις αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀφικυοῦνται, καὶ ἅμα λόγοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίγνοντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ οἱ βουλόμενοι νεώτερα πράγματα¹ ἐν τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι ἐπεβούλευον, νομίζοντες κάλλιστον καιρὸν² εἰληφέναι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τὰ πράγματα, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἡβούλοντο, καταστήσασθαι. ἡγούντο δὲ 10 οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσιν έμποδὼν³ εἶναι ἢ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας καὶ ταξιαρχοῦντας. τούτους οὖν ἐβούλοντο ἀμωσγέπωσ⁴ ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα ῥᾳδίως ἢ βούλοιντο διαπράττοιντο. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Κλεοφῶντι⁵ ἐπέθεντο ἐκ τρόπου τοιούτου. ὅτε γὰρ ἡ πρώτη ἐκκλησία περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἥκοντες ἔλεγον ἐφ' οἷς ἔτοιμοι εἴεν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ⁶ κατασκαφείη τῶν τειχῶν τῶν μακρῶν ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια ἐκατέρου, τότε ὑμεῖς τε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 20 οὐκ ἡνέσχεσθε⁷ ἀκούσαντες περὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς κατασκαφῆς. Κλεοφῶν τε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπεν ὡς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οἶδόν τε εἴη⁸ ποιεῦν ταῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θηραμένης, ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, ἀναστὰς λέγει ὅτι, ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἐλησθε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης 25 πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοκράτορα, ποιήσειν ὥστε⁹ μῆτε τῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν μῆτε ἄλλο τὴν πόλιν ἐλαττῶσαι¹⁰ μηδέν.

¹ νεώτερα πράγματα, “*novas res.*” ² καιρὸν, opportunity. ³ έμποδῶν, *in the way*, cf. ἐκποδῶν. ⁴ ἀμωσγέπωσ, *in one way or another*. ⁵ Κλεοφῶντι, a violent demagogue, opposed to the peace. ⁶ εἰ, *namely if*. ⁷ οὐκ ἡνέσχεσθε, *would not endure*. ⁸ οἶδόν τε εἴη, *was possible*. ⁹ ποιήσειν ὥστε, *bring it about that*. ¹⁰ ἐλαττῶσαι, *suffer disadvantage*.

οῖοιτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ πόλει εὑρήσεσθαι. πεισθέντες δὲ ὑμεῖς εἰλεσθε ἐκεῦνον πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοκράτορα, ὃν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει στρατη-³⁰ γὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἀπεδοκιμάσατε,¹ οὐ νομίζοντες εὖνουν εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ.

Ἐκεῦνος μὲν οὖν ἐλθὼν εἰς Λακεδαιμονία ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ πολὺν χρόνον, καταλιπὼν ὑμᾶς πολιορκούμενούς, εἰδὼς τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἔχόμενον καὶ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ κακὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδεεῖς² ὅντας, νομίζων, εἰ διαθείη ὑμᾶς ἀπόρως³ ὥσπερ διέθηκεν, ἀσμένως όποιαντινοῦν⁴ έθελησαι ἀν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντες καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντες καταλῦσαι⁵ τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰς ἀγῶνα Κλεοφῶντα καθιστᾶσι,⁶ πρόφασιν⁷ μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἥλθεν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἀναπαυσόμενος,⁸ τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἀντεῖπεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μὴ καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν δικαστήριον παρασκευάσαντες καὶ εἰσελθόντες οἱ βουλόμενοι διηγαρχίαν καταστήσασθαι ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ 45 προφάσει ταύτῃ.

Θηραμένης δε ὑστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου. προσιόντες δ' αὐτῷ τῶν τε στρατηγῶν τινες καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων, ὃν ἦν Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Διονυσόδωρος, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοοῦντες 50 ὑμῖν, ὡς γ' ἐδήλωσαν ὑστερον, ἡγανάκτουν⁹ σφόδρα. ἥλθε γὰρ φέρων εἰρήνην τοιαύτην, ἦν ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ

¹ ἀπεδοκιμάσατε, rejected. ² ἐνδεεῖς, in want of. ³ εἰ διαθείη ὑμᾶς ἀπόρως, if he should bring you into hard straits. ⁴ όποιαντινοῦν, of any sort whatsoever. ⁵ καταλῦσαι, to overthrow, subvert, the vox propria of revolutionary changes. ⁶ εἰς ἀγῶνα . . . καθιστᾶσι, brought to trial. ⁷ πρόφασιν, ostensibly. ⁸ ἀναπαυσόμενος, to spend the night. ⁹ ἡγανάκτουν, were indignant.

μαθόντες ἔγνωμεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ
ἀγαθοὺς ἀπωλέσαμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα
ἔξηλάθημεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια
55 τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν ὅλα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη κατα-
σκάψαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει εὑρέσθαι
τάς τε ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὸ
περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος περιελεῖν. ὅρῶντες δὲ οὗτοι
οἱ ἄνδρες ὀνόματι μὲν εἰρήνην γενομένην, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ
60 τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταλυομένην, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέ-ψαι¹ ταῦτα γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔλεοῦντες,² ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, τὰ τείχη, εἰ πεσεῖται, οὐδὲ κηδόμενοι³ τῶν νεῶν,
εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις παραδοθήσονται (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
τούτων πλεῖον ἢ ὑμῶν ἔκάστῳ προσῆκεν⁴), ἀλλ’ αἰσθό-
65 μενοι ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τούτου τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος κατα-
λυθησόμενον, οὐδὲ (ὡς φασί τινες) οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντες
εἰρήνην γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι βελτίω ταύτης
εἰρήνην τῷ δῆμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιήσασθαι. ἐνόμι-
ζον δὲ δυνήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔπραξαν ἀν ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ὑπὲρ
70 Ἀγοράτου τουτοῦ ἀπώλοντο. γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα Θηρα-
μένης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιβούλεύοντες ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἰσὶ⁵
τινες οἱ κωλύσουσι τὸν δῆμον καταλυθῆναι καὶ ἐναντιώ-
σονται περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, εἰλοντο, πρὶν τὴν ἐκκλη-
σίαν τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γενέσθαι, τούτους πρῶτον
75 εἰς διαβολὰς καὶ κινδύνους καταστῆσαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς
ἔκει ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους ἀντιλέγοι.

¹ ἐπιτρέψαι, *permitt.* ² ἔλεοῦντες, *pitying.* ³ κηδόμενοι, *caring for.*

⁴ οὐδὲν . . . πλεῖον προσῆκεν, *no more concerned.*

A

After Lysander had destroyed your ships, men of Athens, and your city was besieged by land and sea, and while¹ negotiations were being carried on² concerning peace, these men, wishing to set up³ an oligarchy⁴ in which they themselves

5 would be most powerful,⁵ plotted to overthrow your democracy. And they considered that the opportunity was admirable.⁶ First then they undertook to put out of the way the democratic leaders, and, among them, Cleophon, knowing well that he would not suffer them to do what they wished.

10 For when your ambassadors returned and told on what terms the Lacedæmonians offered peace, saying that it was necessary for you to destroy ten stadia of each of the long walls, he arose and cried out: "Men of Athens, we can in no wise⁷ do this; let us rather suffer anything⁸ whatsoever."

B

After him Theramenes rose (and this too was a part⁹ of his plot) and said: "Choose me, Athenians, as ambassador with full powers to conclude¹⁰ peace, and I will bring it about that you shall neither tear down your walls nor suffer loss in

5 anything else, and I think I can win for you some other advantage from the Lacedæmonians."

So you chose him and sent him to Sparta. And he, although he knew that you had no supplies and that many were dying of hunger, delayed, and did nothing. For he

10 knew well that if he should bring you into sore straits you would accept peace on any terms whatsoever. Meanwhile those who remained behind plotted against Cleophon, and,

¹ While, ἐν φ. ² Carried on, γιγνομαι. ³ Set up, καθιστημι. ⁴ Oligarchy, διλιγαρχία. ⁵ Be most powerful, δύναμαι, with adv. ⁶ Admirable, καλλιστος. ⁷ In no wise, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ. ⁸ Anything whatsoever, καὶ ὅτιοῦν.

⁹ Part, omit. ¹⁰ To conclude = concerning.

bringing him into¹ court, put him to death, alleging² that he had not gone with the rest to spend the night under¹⁵ arms, but really because he was friendly³ to your democracy, and had spoken on your behalf.⁴

C

Now when Theramenes came back from Lacedæmon and told on what terms the Lacedæmonians were willing⁵ to make peace, all those who were well disposed to your democracy were greatly incensed, for they saw that it was peace in⁵ name only but really the overthrow of the democracy. And you have yourselves come to know the peace he brought—he who promised that he would save your walls and your ships and who thought he could find some other advantage for the city. For this was the peace: to destroy the long¹⁰ walls entirely and to give over your ships to the Lacedæmonians. These men then, not from pity⁶ for the walls or the ships but from loyalty⁶ to you, declared that this could not be⁷ done.

So Theramenes and his fellows undertook⁸ to put them¹⁵ out of the way, in order that when the assembly to consider the peace should be convened⁹ no one might dare¹⁰ to speak against the measures¹¹ they proposed.

¹ *Bringing . . . into*, *εἰσάγω*. ² *Alleging*, *φάσκω*. ³ *Friendly*, *εὔνοιας*. ⁴ *On your behalf*, *ὑπέρ*, with genitive.

⁵ *Were willing*, *έθέλω*, not *βούλομαι*. ⁶ *From pity*, *from loyalty*, use partic. ⁷ *Could not be*, *οὐδὲν τε*, with neg. ⁸ *Undertook*, *ἐπιχειρῶ*.
⁹ *Be convened*, *γλγνομαι*. ¹⁰ *Dare*, *τολμᾶ*. ¹¹ *Measures*, omit, and use relative.

V

THERAMENES

Lysias (see p. 27), 12, 68 ff.

[In this oration Lysias goes out of his way to attack Theramenes, who, by the circumstances of his death (see the next extract), had done much to atone for the faults of his life. The verdict of Lysias is doubtless extreme; very different is that of Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, ch. 28, end.]

Τιμώμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιούμενος, αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος¹ σώσειν τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε, φάσκων πρᾶγμα εὑρηκέναι μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξιον. ὑπέσχετο δὲ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν μήτε ὅμηρα² δοὺς μήτε 5 τὰ τείχη καθελῶν μήτε τὰς ναῦς παραδούς· ταῦτα δὲ εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ ἡθέλησεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πραττούσης μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς σωτήρια,³ ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν Θηραμένει, εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τῶν πολεμίων ἔνεκεν τάπόρρητα⁴ ποιοῦνται, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις οὐκ ἡθέλησεν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα ἀ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλεν ἔρειν, ὅμως ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ πατρίδα καὶ παιδας καὶ γυναικας καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ ὅν μὲν ὑπέσχετο οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, οὕτως

¹ ἐπαγγειλάμενος, *having promised (voluntarily, mid.).* ² ὅμηρα, *hostages.* ³ πραττούσης . . . σωτήρια, *taking measures for safety.*

⁴ τάπόρρητα, *secrets.*

15 δὲ ἐνετεθύμητο¹ ὡς χρὴ μικρὰν καὶ ἀσθενῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐμνήσθη² οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν ἥλπισε, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἔπεισε πρᾶξαι, οὐχ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔκείνοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, τοῦ τε Πειραιῶς 20 τὰ τείχη περιελεῖν καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν³ πολιτείαν καταλῦσαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι, εἰ μὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀποστερηθήσεσθε, ταχεῖαν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν κομιεῖσθε.⁴ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ πρότερον εἴασε⁵ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, ἔως ὃ λεγό- 25 μενος ὑπ' ἔκείνων καιρὸς ἐπιμελῶς⁶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐτηρήθη,⁷ καὶ μετεπέμψατο μὲν τὰς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου ναῦς ἐκ Σάμου, ἐπεδήμησε⁸ δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. τότε δὲ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ παρόντων Λυσάνδρου 30 καὶ Φιλοχάρους καὶ Μιλτιάδου, περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, ἵνα μήτε ῥήτωρ αὐτοῖς μηδεὶς ἐναντιοῦτο μηδὲ ἀπειλοῦ,⁹ ὑμεῖς τε μὴ τὰ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντα ἔλοισθε, ἀλλὰ τάκείνοις δοκοῦντα ψηφίσαισθε.

Αναστὰς δὲ Θηραμένης ἐκέλευσεν ὑμᾶς τριάκοντα 35 ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῆσθαι ἦν Δρακοντίδης ἀπέφαινεν.¹⁰ ὑμεῖς δ' ὅμως καὶ οὕτω διακείμενοι ἐθορυβεῖτε ὡς οὐ ποιήσοντες ταῦτα· ἐγιγνώσκετε γὰρ ὅτι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐν ἔκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξεκλησιάζετε. Θηραμένης 40 δέ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, (καὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς

¹ οὕτως δὲ ἐνετεθύμητο, was so fully convinced. ² ἐμνήσθη, mentioned.

³ ὑπάρχουσαν, existing. ⁴ κομιεῖσθε, exact. ⁵ εἴασε, permitted. ⁶ ἐπιμελῶς, carefully. ⁷ ἐτηρήθη, lit. was waited for. ⁸ ἐπεδήμησε, had come into the city. ⁹ ἀπειλοῦ, make threats. ¹⁰ ἀπέφαινεν, went on to declare.

μάρτυρας παρέξομαι), εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλοι τοῦ ὑμετέρου θορύβου, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίων εἰδείη τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας αὐτῷ, δοκοῦντα δὲ Λυσανδρῷ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις λέγοι. μετ' ἐκείνον δὲ Λύσανδρος 45 ἀναστὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ εἶπε καὶ ὅτι παρασπόνδους¹ ὑμᾶς ἔχοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας ὑμῖν ἔσται ἄλλα περὶ σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ποιήσεθ² ἀ Θηραμένης κελεύει. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅσοι ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν, γνόντες τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ 50 μένοντες ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, οἱ δὲ ὥχοντο ἀπιόντες, τοῦτο γοῦν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνειδότες, ὅτι οὐδὲν κακὸν τῇ πόλει ἐψηφίσαντο· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ πονηροὶ καὶ κακῶς βουλευόμενοι τὰ προσταχθέντα³ ἐχειροτόνησαν· παρηγγέλλετο⁴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς δέκα μὲν οὓς Θηραμένης 55 ἀπέδειξε χειροτονῆσαι, δέκα δὲ οὓς οἱ καθεστηκότες ἔφοροι⁴ κελεύοιεν, δέκα δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ἔώρων καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἡπίσταντο, ὥστε πρότερον ἥδεσαν τὰ μέλλοντα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πραχθήσεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμοὶ δεῖ πι- 60 στεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῳ· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγεν.

A

This Theramenes, promising that he would save the city if you would trust him, declared that it was possible to make a peace without⁵ surrendering your ships or destroying your

¹ παρασπόνδους, *treaty-breakers*. ² τὰ προσταχθέντα, *what was bid-den them*. ³ παρηγγέλλετο, *impers. pass.*, common with verbs of ordering. ⁴ ἔφοροι, *leaders of the oligarchical revolutionists, not constitutional officers*.

⁵ *Without = not.*

walls, but that he alone could do this; and you were per-
 5 suaded to entrust to him your city and your own persons, although he would not say what he was going to¹ do. Then, in order to render the city weak, he promised the Lacedaemonians a thing which they themselves had not mentioned,—to destroy your walls and overthrow your constitution. For he
 10 wished to deprive you of every hope, fearing that you would exact a speedy vengeance from him. And he would not suffer² you to hold an assembly concerning the peace until the fleet of the Lacedaemonians had come and Lysander himself was present. For he knew that now you would be com-
 15 pelled to vote for the things they wished.

B

When at length the assembly was held and Theramenes rose and bade you entrust the city to thirty men and to adopt the constitution of Dracontides, you declared you would not³ do it. But he cared not for your outcry, knowing that he
 5 was not alone, and that he was doing Lysander's will. Indeed,⁴ after him Lysander rose and said that you must do as Theramenes bade, "Else,"⁵ said he, "I shall regard you as treaty-breakers."

So the plot became clear,⁶ and the honest men in the
 10 assembly got up and went out, in order that they might not be forced to vote for any such measures.⁷ But the others did as they were bidden, and chose the men Lysander and Theramenes wished. For these knew so well their own power that they could tell in advance those who were to be
 15 elected in the assembly.

¹ Was going to, *μέλλω*. ² Would not suffer, impf. with negative.

³ Declared you would not, *οὐ φημι*. ⁴ Indeed, *καὶ δῆ*. ⁵ Else, *εἰ δὲ μή*. ⁶ Clear, *δῆλος*. ⁷ Any such measures = such things.

VI

THE THIRTY TYRANTS

Xenophon (see p. 9), "Hellenica," 2, 3, 11 ff.

[See *Grote*, VI, pp. 455 ff.; *Curtius*, III, pp. 579 ff.; *Duruy*, III, II, pp. 396 ff.; *Holm*, II, pp. 526 ff.; *Abbott*, III, pp. 467 ff. Cf. also *Aristotle*, *Constitution of Athens*, 36 and 37. Lysias's account is given in the next section.]

Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἥρεθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ὧτε συγγράψαι¹ νόμους, καθ' οὗστινας πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν ἀεὶ ἔμελλον² συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύαι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ἥδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας³ ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς βαρεῖς⁴ ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἥδεως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἵ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἀν ἔξειντι αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαιμονα Αἰσχύνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπεισαν 15 Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ

¹ συγγράψαι, *to codify*. ² ἔμελλον, *delayed, put off*. ³ συκοφαντίας, *the trade of the informer* (*συκοφάντης*). ⁴ βαρεῖς, *burdensome*.

τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαιντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν¹ συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν 20 ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον² πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἄ πράττοιεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηρούς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ’ ἥδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους³ ἀν ἀνέχεσθαι, 25 ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἀν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν. τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων⁴ τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετής⁵ ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτεῖνειν, ἄτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης 30 ἀντέκοπτε,⁶ λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη θανατοῦν, εἰ τις ἐτιμάτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔγω, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν⁷ ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἴπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δέ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρῆτο τῷ Θηραμένει) 35 ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῦν⁸ βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἴς, ἥττόν τι οἴει ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης⁹ εἴ. ἐπεὶ δέ, ἀποθνησκόν- 40 των πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἥσαν συνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν

¹ ἀρμοστὴν, *vox propria* for the military governors sent out by Sparta after the Peloponnesian war. ² ἐθεράπευον, fawned on. ³ παρωθουμένους, thrust aside. ⁴ ὁμογνώμων, like-minded. ⁵ προπετής, inclined, eager. ⁶ ἀντέκοπτε, thwarted him. ⁷ ἀρέσκειν, please. ⁸ πλεονεκτεῦν, gain power (and wealth). ⁹ εὐήθης, foolish.

ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μή τις κοινωνοὺς ἰκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὄλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ 45 ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἥδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρεείησαν¹ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι² τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας³ δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον⁴ δοκοίη ἔαυτῷ γε εἶναι πρῶτον μὲν 50 τὸ βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους καταλέξαι, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὗτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους⁵ οὗτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἶόν τε εἴη γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα δέ, 55 ἔφη, ὅρῳ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ ἔξετασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἄλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες 60 ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἐν ὧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὅμοιγνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες⁶ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἔξον 65 ἥδη ποιεῦν αὐτοῖς ὅ τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἔνα ἔκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν

¹ συρρεείησαν, συρρέω. ² καταλέγουσι, *make a list of* (κατάλογος, l. 59).

³ μεθέξοντας, *have a share in*. ⁴ ἄτοπον, *ridiculous*. ⁵ σπουδαίους, *worthy men*. ⁶ ἀνακομίσαντες, *taking them up*.

ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι¹.
 70 ἐκέλευνον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν διτινα βούλοιτο.
 ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι
 φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαν-
 τῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὅν χρήματα λαμβά-
 νοιεν ζῆν εἴσων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦν-
 τας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ
 παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δὲ ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες
 αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοιντο, ἐπιβούλεύουσιν
 αὐτῷ, καὶ ἴδιᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον
 διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον² τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ
 80 παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύ-
 τατοι³ εἶναι ξιφίδια⁴ ὑπὸ μάλης⁵ ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι,
 συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν.

Theramenes, accused by Critias, speaks in his own defense.

85 'Ως δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη
 ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς⁶ ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι
 εἱ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαφηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀνα-
 φεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελ-
 θὼν καὶ διαλεχθείς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἔξηλθε, καὶ
 90 ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανε-
 ρῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις.⁷ πάλιν δὲ εἰσελ-
 θὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, ὁ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου⁸ ἔργον
 εἶναι οὗν δεῖ, ὃς ἀν ὁρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἔξαπατωμένους
 μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ

¹ ἀποσημήνασθαι, *to confiscate*. ² λυμαινόμενον, *marring, ruining*.

³ θρασύτατοι, *utterly unscrupulous*. ⁴ ξιφίδια, *daggers* (*ἐγχειρίδια*, l. 90).

⁵ ὑπὸ μάλης, *under the arm pit*. ⁶ εὐμενῶς, *favorably, of applause*.

⁷ δρυφάκτοις, *bar*. ⁸ προστάτου, *president*.

οἵδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν¹ ἄνδρα τὸν φανερῶν τὴν δλιγαρχίαν λυμανόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὅντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους 100 εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἔξαλείφω² ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἄπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν³ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔστιαν⁴ καὶ εἶπεν. 'Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἵκετεύω 105 τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ εἶναι ἔξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἀν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μέν, 110 ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει⁵ ὃδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι.⁶ ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὡς ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν 115 ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἡ τὸ ὑμῶν ἔκαστον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἔνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις⁷, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θραυστάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου,⁸ εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παρα- 120 δίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον

¹ ἀνήσομεν, *acquit*, *let go*. ² ἔξαλείφω, *erase*; cf. *εὐεξαλειπτότερον*, l. 115. ³ ἀνεπήδησεν, *leaped up*. ⁴ ἔστιαν, *altar of Hestia* (βωμός, l. 110).

⁵ ἀρκέσει, *will protect*. ⁶ ἀσεβέστατοι, *most impious*. ⁷ ὑπηρέταις, *underlings*. ⁸ ἀναιδεστάτου, *most shameless*.

κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ύμεις δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες
οὐδεὶς τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν,
εἴλκε¹ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἴλκον δὲ οἱ
ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκα-
125 λεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ
ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, δρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις
όμοιούς Σατύρων καὶ τὸ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου
πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρί-
δια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ
130 τῆς ἀγορᾶς μᾶλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οὐα
ἐπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἐν ρῆμα² καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς
εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο,³ εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν,
ἐπήρετο.⁴ Αν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ
ἐπεί γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον⁵ ἔπιε,
135 τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα⁶ εἰπεῖν αὐτόν.
Κριτίᾳ τοῦτο⁷ ἔστω τῷ καλῷ.⁸ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ
ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο
δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἄνδρὸς ἀγαστόν,⁹ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρε-
στηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον¹⁰ μήτε τὸ παιγνιῶδες¹¹ ἀπο-
140 λιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

A

The Thirty were elected to codify the laws; but, instead of¹⁰ doing this, they sought to make themselves¹¹ powerful. First they seized and condemned to death the sycophants,

¹ εἴλκε, *dragged*. ² ρῆμα, *word, saying* (*ἀπεφθεγμα*, l. 137). ³ οἰμώ-
ξοιτο, *come to grief, properly, howl*; hence the pun. ⁴ κώνειον, *hemlock*
(*poison*). ⁵ ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, *tossing off, as one who plays “cottabas;”*
see dict. ⁶ τῷ καλῷ, *my darling*. ⁷ ἀγαστόν, *admirable*. ⁸ τὸ φρόνιμον,
wits. ⁹ τὸ παιγνιῶδες, *sense of humor*.

¹⁰ *Instead of*, ἀντί, with articular infin. ¹¹ *Make themselves, καθε-
στημι, with reflexive.*

(and to this no one made any protest), and then, alleging
 5 that they wished to cleanse¹ the city of evil-doers, they sent
 a messenger to Lacedaemon and begged² Lysander to send
 them a harmost with troops. This he did, and they, think-
 ing that now they could act as they chose³ (for by this time
 10 they had constituted the senate to their liking), proceeded
 to⁴ seize, no longer the evil-doers, but their own foes and
 those most friendly to the democracy. For they knew that
 these would be most apt to⁵ protest against their actions, and
 they feared that they might even⁶ act against them. For in
 15 doing this, they would have had many sympathizers. Thus
 many were seized and thrown into prison,⁷ and all men
 feared the Thirty.

B

Now at the first Critias and Theramenes were friendly,
 although Critias, on account of his having been banished by
 the people, was ready to put to death all those who favored
 the democracy, and when Theramenes protested that it was
 5 in no wise right to do this, replied that he was a fool; for
 it was necessary⁸ to guard their power as though it was the
 tyranny of one man. Finally when⁹ many had been put to
 death unjustly and the citizens were banding together,
 Theramenes said plainly, “If we do not¹⁰ associate with us a
 10 sufficient number of the citizens in the management of
 affairs the oligarchy cannot stand.”

Upon this Critias and his party, fearing Theramenes now,
 chose three thousand whom they said they would have as asso-
 ciates. But Theramenes laughed, and asked if there might
 15 not be rascals within this number and honest men without.

¹ Cleanse = make pure (*καθαρός*). ² Begged, *δέομαι*. ³ Act as they chose = do whatever they wished. ⁴ Proceeded to, impf. tense. ⁵ Apt to, *μάλιστ' ἀν*, with partic. ⁶ Even, *κατ*. ⁷ Thrown into prison, *δέω*, pass.

⁸ For it was necessary, use infin., even if *δι* was used in the preceding clause. ⁹ When many had, etc., gen. abs. ¹⁰ If we do not, *εἰ* with fut. indic., a “minatory” condition.

C

Then the Thirty made an inspection of all the citizens, of those on the list in the agora and of the others elsewhere, and ordered the Lacedaemonian guards to seize the arms of all save the three thousand, and carrying them to Acropolis 5 to deposit them in the temple. After this they feared nothing, but slew whom they would. Moreover they each seized one of the metics and confiscated their property, in order that they might have money with which to pay their garrison. At this Theramenes said, “We are acting worse than the 10 sycophants, for they at least¹ allow those to live from whom they extort money.” So the Thirty,² seeing that he was thus minded,³ resolved to put Theramenes too out of the way, as one who hindered their designs, and, at their bidding,⁴ young men, with daggers hidden⁵ beneath their arms, took 15 their places in the senate house, when they were about to convene the senate.

D

When Theramenes had spoken it was clear that the senate favored him. Critias, therefore (for he thought life would be unendurable if Theramenes should escape), stationed the armed youths at the bar in full view of the senate, 5 and said: “You see, gentlemen, these men will not suffer us to let this fellow off. Now according to⁶ our new laws, there is no need of⁷ the senate’s vote concerning those not on the list, but we ourselves have full power. I, therefore, erase the name of Theramenes, and declare that the Thirty 10 condemn him to death.”

Hearing this, Theramenes sprang to the altar, although he knew that it would not protect him, and cried out: “Sen-

¹ At least, γε. ² So the Thirty, not οὗτοι. ³ Minded, φρονῶ. ⁴ At their bidding, gen. abs. ⁵ Hidden, omit.

⁶ According to, κατά. ⁷ No need of, οὐδὲτεν δεῖ.

15 ators, do not suffer Critias thus to transgress¹ the laws; for if it is permitted him to erase my name, he can also erase the name of any one of you he chooses.”

E

Upon this the Eleven, with² their minions, dragged Theramenes from the altar, as he called upon gods and men to behold this injustice. And the senate dared do nothing, seeing at the bar men as bold and shameless as the Eleven, 5 and that too³ armed with daggers, and the Lacedaemonian guards besides.⁴ So Theramenes was haled through the market-place, proclaiming aloud that he was unjustly led to death. And it is told that, when Satyrus, the leader of the Eleven, bade him be silent lest he have to rue it, he answered, 10 “I shall rue it just the same⁵ if I do keep silent.” So he was compelled to drink the hemlock; but even now, when⁶ death was at hand, his wit did not desert him, but, when he had drunk, he tossed out the dregs as one who plays “cottabus,” and said: “This to my darling Critias.”

¹ Transgress, *παραβαλνω*.

² With, avoid *σύν*. ³ And that too, *καὶ ταῦτα*. ⁴ And . . . besides, *Ἐτι δὲ καὶ*. ⁵ Just the same, *ὁμολως*. ⁶ Even now, when, *Ἐτι καὶ νῦν*, with gen. abs.

VII

THE THIRTY TYRANTS

Lysias (see p. 27), 12, 4 ff.

Ούμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος ἐπείσθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι, ἔτη δὲ τριάκοντα ὥκησε, καὶ οὐδεὶν πώποτε οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε ἐκεῖνος δίκην οὔτε ἐδικασάμεθα¹ οὔτε ἐφύγομεν,¹ ἀλλ' οὕτως ὥκουμεν 5 δημοκρατούμενοι ὥστε μῆτε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξαμαρτάνειν μῆτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα, πονηροὶ² μὲν καὶ συκοφάνται ὅντες, εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, φάσκοντες χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πολίτας 10 ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τραπέσθαι, τοιαῦτα λέγοντες οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῦν ἐτόλμων, ὡς ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πρῶτον εἰπὼν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναμνῆσαι³ πειράσομαι. Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα περὶ τῶν μετοίκων,⁴ ὡς εἶέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ 15 ἀχθόμενοι⁵ καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι⁶ μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι⁷ πάντως⁸ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν πένεσθαι,⁹ τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν δεῖσθαι

¹ ἐδικασάμεθα, ἐφύγομεν, *engage in a suit as plaintiffs, as defendants.*² πονηροὶ, *villains.* ³ ἀναμνῆσαι, *call to (your) mind, mention.* ⁴ μετοίκων, *resident aliens, metics.* ⁵ ἀχθόμενοι, *disaffected.* ⁶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, *punish.*⁷ χρηματίζεσθαι, *do a stroke of business.* ⁸ πάντως, *in any case.* ⁹ πένεσθαι, *be poor, cf. πένητας, l. 21.*

χρημάτων. καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθον.

ἀποκτιννύναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους περὶ οὐδενὸς ἥγουντο, 5. p. 70

20 λαμβάνειν δὲ χρήματα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. ἔδοξεν
οὖν αὐτοῖς δέκα συλλαβεῖν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας,
ἴνα αὐτοῖς ἥ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρη-
μάτων ἔνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἄλλὰ συμφέροντα¹ τῇ
πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται, ὡσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως²
25 πεποιηκότες. διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβάδιζον.³
καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ξένους ἔστιῶντα⁴ κατέλαβον, οὓς ἐξελά-
σαντες Πείσωνί με παραδιδόασιν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ
έργαστήριον⁵ ἐλθόντες τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἀπεγράφοντο.⁶
ἐγὼ δὲ Πείσωνα μὲν ἡρώτων εἰ βούλοιτο με σῶσαι
30 χρήματα λαβών· ὁ δὲ ἔφασκεν, εἰ πολλὰ εἴη. /εἶπον
οὖν ὅτι τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἔτοιμος εἴην δοῦναι. ὁ δὲ
ώμολόγησε ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἡ πιστάμην⁷ μὲν οὖν ὅτι
οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους νομίζει,⁸ δῆμος δὲ ἐκ τῶν
παρόντων ἐδόκει μοι ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι, πίστιν παρ'
35 αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὡμοσεν ἐξώλειαν⁹ ἔαυτῷ καὶ
τοῖς παισὶν ἐπαρώμενος,¹⁰ λαβὼν τὸ τάλαντόν με
σώσειν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον τὴν κιβωτὸν¹¹ ἀνοί-
γνυμι.¹² Πείσων δὲ αἰσθόμενος εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἵδων τὰ
ἐνόντα καλεῖ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δύο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ
40 λαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ὡμολόγησα εἶχεν,
ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀλλὰ τρία τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ

¹ συμφέροντα, *advantageous*. ² εὐλόγως, *with good reason*. ³ ἐβάδι-
ζον, *set out*. ⁴ ἔστιῶντα, *giving a dinner to*. ⁵ ἔργαστήριον, *factory*
(they were manufacturers of arms). ⁶ ἀπεγράφοντο, *made an inventory of* (there were one hundred and twenty slaves). ⁷ ἡ πιστάμην, *knew*. ⁸ νομίζει, *regarded*. ⁹ ἐξώλειαν, *utter destruction*. ¹⁰ ἐπαρώμενος, *invoking*. ¹¹ κιβωτὸν, *chest, strong-box*. ¹² ἀνοίγνυμι, *open*.

τετρακοσίους κυζικηνοὺς¹ καὶ ἑκατὸν δαρεικοὺς² καὶ φιάλας³ ἀργυρίου τέτταρας, ἐδεόμην αὐτοῦ ἐφόδια⁴ μοι δοῦναι, ὁ δ' ἀγαπήσειν⁵ με ἔφασκεν, εἰ τὸ σῶμα 45 σώσω. ἔξιονσι δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Πείσωνι ἐπιτυγχάνει Μηλόβιός τε καὶ Μηνησιθείδης ἐκ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου ἀπιόντες, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς θύραις, καὶ ἐρωτῶσιν ὅπη βαδίζομεν· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν εἰς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σκέ 50 ψηται. ἐκείνον μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευν βαδίζειν, ἐμὲ δὲ μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν⁶ εἰς Δαμνίππου. Πείσων δὲ προσελθὼν σιγᾶν μοι παρεκελεύετο καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὡς ἥξων ἐκεῖσε. καταλαμβάνομεν δὲ αὐτόθι Θέογυνιν ἐτέρους φυλάττοντα· ὃ παραδόντες ἐμὲ πάλιν ὥχοντο. 55 ἐν τοιούτῳ δ' ὅντι μοι κινδυνεύειν ἐδόκει, ὡς τοῦ γε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος ἥδη. καλέσας δὲ Δάμνιππον λέγω πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε, ἐπιτήδειος⁷ μέν μοι τυγχάνεις ὅν, ἥκω δ' εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν, ἀδικῶ δ' οὐδέν, χρημάτων δ' ἔνεκα ἀπόλλυμαι. σὺ οὖν ταῦτα πάσχοντί μοι 60 πρόθυμον παράσχου τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν. ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτῷ βέλτιον εἶναι πρὸς Θέογυνιν μνησθῆναι· ἥγειτο γάρ ἄπαν ποιήσειν αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἀργύριον διδοίη. ἐκείνον δὲ διαλεγομένου Θέογυνιδι (ἔμπειρος γάρ ὁν 65 ἐτύγχανον τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ ἥδειν ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος⁸ εἴη)

¹ κυζικηνούς, *Cyzicene staters*, coins of Cyzicus, valued at twenty-eight Attic drachmae. ² δαρεικούς, *Daries*, Persian coins, circulating at Athens at a value of twenty drachmae, but worth considerably more. The whole sum mentioned is about \$5,500. ³ φιάλας, *bowls*, chiefly used in libations. ⁴ ἐφόδια, *travelling expenses*. ⁵ ἀγαπήσειν, *be content, lucky*. ⁶ ἀκολουθεῖν, *to follow*. ⁷ ἐπιτήδειος, *relative, close friend*; cf. “*necessarius*.” ⁸ ἀμφίθυρος, *with two entrances*.

ἔδόκει μοι ταύτη πειρᾶσθαι σωθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένω ὅτι,
 ἐὰν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσομαι, ἐὰν δὲ ληφθῶ, ἥγούμην
μέν, εἰ Θέογνις εἴη πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαμνίππου
 χρήματα λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀφεθήσεσθαι,¹ εἰ δὲ μή,
 ὁμοίως ἀποθανεῖσθαι. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἔφευγον,
 ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείῳ θύρᾳ² τὴν φυλακὴν ποιουμένων·
 τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν, ἃς ἔδει με διελθεῖν, ἀπασται
 ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Αρχένεω³ τοῦ
 ναυκλήρου⁴ ἐκείνου πέμπω εἰς ἄστυ, πευσόμενον⁵ περὶ⁷⁵
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ· ἥκων δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐρατοσθένης αὐτὸν
 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ λαβὼν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι. καὶ
 ἔγω τοιαῦτα πεπυσμένος τῆς ἐπιούσης⁶ νυκτὸς διέ-
 πλευσα Μέγαράδε. Πολεμάρχῳ δὲ παρήγγειλαν οἱ
 τριάκοντα τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα,
 πίνειν κώνειον, πρὶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν δὶ ἥντινα ἐμελλεν
 ἀποθανεῖσθαι· οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησε κριθῆναι καὶ ἀπο-
 λογῆσασθαι.

A

I wish to tell you, gentlemen of the jury, what things
 my brother and I have suffered at the hands of⁷ the Thirty.
 And first I will say to those of you who do not know⁸ it, that
 my father⁹ came here on Pericles's invitation, and that,
 although metics and not citizens, we have so lived that no
 one of all the citizens has spoken ill of⁹ us, nor have we
 ever come into court as plaintiffs or defendants. This was

¹ ἀφεθήσεσθαι, *should be let go*. ² τῇ αὐλείῳ θύρᾳ, *the front door*.
³ εἰς Αρχένεω, *to the house of A.* ⁴ ναυκλήρου, *ship-captain*. ⁵ πευσόμενον,
to enquire. ⁶ ἐπιούσης, *next*.

⁷ *At the hands of*, ὑπό. ⁸ *Those . . . who do not know = those*
not (μή) knowing. ⁹ *Spoken ill of*, κακῶς λέγειν.

while¹ the democracy lasted; but the Thirty have slain my brother, and I, myself, was forced to flee.

10 For Theognis and Piso got up among them and spoke thus: "Many of the metics are rich² and some are disaffected. Now *we* need money and this is a fine chance to get some, by seizing ten of these men. If we seize a couple of poor men among them, we shall be able to say that we have not done 15 this for money."

B

This was decided on,³ and Piso, with some others, came to my house. Now I happened to be entertaining some guests at dinner, but they drove them out, and Piso, having sent the others to the factory to make an inventory of the slaves, took 5 charge off⁴ me. Upon this I said to him: "Piso, I will give you a talent, if you will let me go." (For I knew he would do anything⁵ for⁶ money.) To this⁷ he agreed, and bade me fetch⁸ the money. So I went into my room and opened my chest, and Piso, seeing it, came in with⁹ two of his under-10 lings. Straightway he bade them seize everything in the chest (it was in all¹⁰ nearly¹¹ six talents, gentlemen), and, when I begged him to give me something, at least, in order that I might flee from Athens, he said: "You will be lucky, if you save your skin." So he took my money; but not 15 even thus did I escape, for, as we came out, we met the others, who ordered me to go with them.

C

When we came to the house of Damnippus they gave me over to Theognis, who was guarding some others, and went

¹ While, gen. abs., with *ἐτι*. ² Rich, *πλούσιος*.

³ Decided on, *δοκῶ*. ⁴ Took charge of, *παραλαμβάνω*; cf. *παραδίδωμι*.

⁵ Anything, *καὶ ὅτιοῦν*. ⁶ For, *ἐνεκα*. ⁷ To this, omit to. ⁸ Fetch, *φέρω*.

⁹ With=bringing: avoid *σύν*. ¹⁰ In all, *τὰ σύμπαντα*. ¹¹ Nearly, *σχεδόν*.

off. At this, being in such straits, I called to Damnippus (for he was a relative of mine), and begged him to save me.
5 "You see," said I, "that they are about to kill me for my money, although I have done no wrong." He then promised that he would do all that he could and began to talk¹ with Theognis; and I, seeing them talking, decided to take to my heels, thinking that I might perhaps² get off unseen, and, if
10 not, that if Damnippus should have induced Theognis to accept the bribe, they would let me go none the less. So I fled, and, as chance would have it,³ got safely to the Piraeus, and thence sailed to Megara. But my brother, Polemarchus,
15 was led away to prison, and bidden to drink the hemlock, without trial,⁴ and not even knowing the charge on which he was put to death.

¹ *Began to talk*, *impf.* ² *Perhaps*, *τοιως*. ³ *As chance would have it*, *κατὰ τύχην τινά*. ⁴ *Without trial*, *ἄκριτος*.

VIII

CYRUS GOES HUNTING

Xenophon (see p. 9), “*Cyropaedia*,” 1, 4, 7 ff.

Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Ἀστυάγης σφόδρα¹ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἔξω² θηρᾶν,³ ἐκπέμπει αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ θείῳ⁴ καὶ φύλακας συμπέμπει ἐφ’ ἵππων πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ τῶν 5 ἄγριῶν τι φανείη θηρίων. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος τῶν ἐπομένων προθύμως ἐπυνθάνετο ποίοις οὐ χρὴ θηρίοις πελάζειν⁵ καὶ ποῖα χρὴ θαρροῦντα διώκειν. οἱ δ’ ἐλεγον ὅτι ἄρκτοι τε πολλοὺς ἥδη πλησιάσαντας διέφθειραν καὶ 10 κάπροι⁶ καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις,⁷ αἱ δὲ ἐλαφοί⁸ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι οἶες⁹ καὶ οἱ ὄνοι οἱ ἄγριοι ἀσινεῖς¹⁰ εἰσιν. ἐλεγον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὰς δυσχωρίας ὅτι δέοι φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ τὰ θηρία· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἥδη αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις κατακρημνισθῆναι.¹¹ καὶ 15 ὁ Κῦρος πάντα ταῦτα ἐμάνθανε προθύμως· ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἐλαφον ἐκπηδήσασαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος ὥν ἥκουσεν, ἐδίωκεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὄρῶν ἢ ὅπῃ ἔφευγε. καί πως διαπηδῶν αὐτῷ ὁ ἵππος πίπτει εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικροῦ¹²

¹ σφόδρα, *earnestly*. ² ἔξω, *outside* (of the park). ³ θηρᾶν, *to hunt*.

⁴ θεῖος, *uncle*, ⁵ πελάζειν, *approach*. ⁶ κάπροι, *boars*. ⁷ παρδάλεις, *panthers*.

⁸ ἐλαφοί, *deer*. ⁹ οἶες, *sheep*. ¹⁰ ἀσινεῖς, *harmless*. ¹¹ κατακρημνισθῆναι, *had been thrown* (lit. over a precipice). ¹² μικροῦ, *almost*.

κάκεινον ἔξετραχήλισεν.¹ οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπέμεινεν ὁ
Κῦρος μόλις πως,² καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἔξανέστη. ὡς δ' εἰς
τὸ πεδίον ἥλθεν, ἀκοντίσας καταβάλλει τὴν ἔλαφον,
καλόν τι χρῆμα³ καὶ μέγα.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπερέχαιρεν οἵ δὲ φύλακες προσελά-
σαντες ἐλοιδόρουν⁴ αὐτὸν εἰς οἶον⁵ κίνδυνον ἔλθοι, καὶ
ἔφασαν κατερεῦν αὐτοῦ. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος είστηκει κατα-
βεβηκώς, καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα ἦνιάτο.⁶ ὡς δ' ἦσθετο
κραυγῆς, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν,⁷
καὶ ὡς εἶδεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου κάπρον προσφερόμενον,⁸
ἀντίος⁹ ἔλαύνει καὶ διατεινάμενος¹⁰ εὐστόχως¹¹ βάλλει
εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ κατέσχε¹² τὸν κάπρον. ἐνταῦθα
μέντοι ἦδη καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο, τὴν θρασύ-
τητα ὄρων. ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ λοιδορούμένον ὅμως ἐδεῖτο ὅσα
αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, ταῦτα ἔᾶσαι εἰσκομίσαντα δοῦναι τῷ
πάππῳ.¹³ τὸν δὲ θεῖον εἰπεῖν φασιν, Ἀλλ' ἦν αἴσθη-
ται ὅτι ἐδίωκες, οὐ σοὶ μόνον λοιδορήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἔμοι, ὅτι σε εἴων. Καὶ ἦν βούληται, φάναι αὐτόν,
μαστιγωσάτω,¹⁴ ἐπειδάν γε ἐγὼ δῶ αὐτῷ. καὶ σύγε,
ὅ τι βούλει, ἔφη, ὡς θεῖε, τιμωρησάμενος ταῦτα ὅμως
χάρισαι μοι.¹⁵ καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι τελευτῶν εἶπε,
Ποιέι ὅπως βούλει· σὺ γὰρ νῦν γε ἡμῶν ἔοικας¹⁶ βασι-
λεὺς εἶναι.

¹ ἔξετραχήλισεν, *threw him, broke his neck.* ² μόλις πως, *but hardly.*

³ χρῆμα, a colloquialism; trans. *beast.* ⁴ ἐλοιδόρουν, *upbraided.* ⁵ εἰς οἶον = ὅτι εἴς τοι θέτον. ⁶ ἦνιάτο, *was vexed, bored.* ⁷ ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, *like one possessed.* ⁸ προσφερόμενον, *rushing upon him.* ⁹ ἀντίος, *straight at it.* ¹⁰ διατεινάμενος, *poising his javelin.* ¹¹ εὐστόχως, *with sure aim.*

¹² κατέσχε, *checked.* ¹³ πάππῳ, *grandfather.* ¹⁴ μαστιγωσάτω, *let him scourge.* ¹⁵ χάρισαι μοι, *grant me this favor.* ¹⁶ ἔοικας, *seem.*

When Astyages, at last, allowed Cyrus to go hunting outside the park, he sent with him his uncle and some guards, fearing that he might suffer harm.¹ These told him that he might fearlessly² pursue deer, gazelles, and wild asses, 5 but that if he should see a lion or a boar or a panther, he should flee from it, for these beasts often killed men; and they also bade him beware of rough places. But Cyrus, when he saw a deer leap forth, forgot all they had said, and, in pursuing it, was almost thrown; for the ground was 10 rough and his horse in making a leap fell to his knees. Cyrus, however, killed the deer, and was much elated. After this a boar rushed upon him, but he, fearing nothing, rode straight at the beast and killed it also. Then the others upbraided him for running such risks,³ and said they would 15 tell Astyages; but Cyrus answered: "Let me take to my grandfather the beasts I have killed. Then, if he wishes, let him scourge me, or punish me in any other way."

¹ *Suffer harm*, πάσχω τι. ² *Fearlessly*, ἀδεῶς. ³ *For running such risks, imitate the text.*

IX

BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST

Xenophon (see p. 9), “*Cyropaedia*,” 7, 5, 15 ff.

[The parallel account in *Herodotus*, I, 190 ff. will be found of interest; see also the scriptural account in *Daniel*, 5.]

Καὶ αἱ μὲν τάφροι ἥδη ὀρωρυγμέναι¹ ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπειδὴ ἔορτὴν² τοιαύτην ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἤκουσεν εἶναι ἐν ᾧ πάντες Βαβυλώνιοι ὅλην τὴν νύκτα πίνουσι καὶ κωμάζουσιν,³ ἐν ταύτῃ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα 5 συνεσκότασε,⁴ λαβὼν πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνεστόμωσε⁵ τὰς τάφρους πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, τὸ ὄδωρ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους ἔχώρει ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄδὸς πορεύσιμος ἀνθρώποις ἐγίγνετο. ὡς δὲ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὖτος ἐπορσύ- 10 νετο,⁶ παρηγγύησεν⁷ ὁ Κῦρος Πέρσαις χιλιάρχοις καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων εἰς δύο ἄγοντας τὴν χιλιοστὸν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμμάχους κατ’ οὐράν⁸ τούτων ἐπεσθαι ἥπερ πρόσθεν τεταγμένους. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρῆσαν· ὁ δὲ καταβιβάσας εἰς τὸ ξηρὸν 15 τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας, ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι εἰ πορεύσιμον εἴη τὸ ἔδαφος⁹ τοῦ

¹ δρωρυγμέναι, dug. ² ἔορτὴν, festival. ³ κωμάζουσι, revel, cf. κώμφ, l. 36. ⁴ συνεσκότα, grew dark. ⁵ ἀνεστόμωσε, opened the mouths of. ⁶ ἐπορσύνετο, was made ready. ⁷ παρηγγύησεν, ordered, like παρήγγειλεν. ⁸ κατ’ οὐράν, in the rear of. ⁹ ἔδαφος, bed.

ποταμοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν ὅτι πορεύσιμον εἴη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

20 ⁷Ανδρες, ἔφη, φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς ἡμῖν παρακεχώρηκε¹ τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁδοῦ. ἡμεῖς δὲ θαρροῦντες εἰσίωμεν μηδὲν φοβούμενοι εἴσω, ἐννοούμενοι² ὅτι οὗτοι ἔφ³ οὖς νῦν πορευσόμεθα ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν οὓς ἡμεῖς καὶ συμμάχους πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντας καὶ ἐγρηγορότας³ 25 ἄπαντας καὶ νήφοντας⁴ καὶ ἔξωπλισμένους καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐνικῶμεν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴμεν ἐν φι πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν καθεύδουσι πολλοὶ δ' αὐτῶν μεθύουσι.⁵ πάντες δ' ἀσύντακτοί⁶ εἰσιν· ὅταν δὲ αἰσθωνται ἡμᾶς ἔνδον ὄντας, πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ νῦν ἀχρεῖοι ἔσονται 30 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι.⁷ . . . ἀλλ' ἄγετε λαμβάνετε τὰ ὅπλα· ἡγήσομαι δὲ ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. ὑμεῖς δ', ἔφη, ὁ Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύα, δείκνυτε τὰς ὁδούς· ἵστε γάρ. ὅταν δ' ἐντὸς γενώμεθα, τὴν ταχίστην ἄγετε ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ μήν, ἔφασαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν, 35 οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη θαυμαστὸν εἰ· καὶ ἄκλειστοι⁸ αἱ πύλαι αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου εἴεν ὡς ἐν κώμῳ· δειπνεῖ γάρ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα τῇδε τῇ νυκτὶ· φυλακῆ μέντοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐντευξόμεθα.⁹ ἔστι γάρ ἀεὶ τεταγμένη. Οὐκ ἀν μέλλειν¹⁰ δέοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀλλ' οὐναί, ἵνα ἀπαρ- 40 σκεύουσι ὡς μάλιστα λάβωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐρρήθη ἐπορεύοντο· τῶν δὲ ἀπαντώντων¹¹ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον παιόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἔφευγον

¹ παρακέχωρηκε, *has given way from; freely, has granted us a passage into.* ² ἐννοούμενοι, *reflecting.* ³ ἐγρηγορότας, *awake.* ⁴ νήφοντας, *sober.* ⁵ μεθύουσι, *are drunk.* ⁶ ἀσύντακτοι, *in disarray.* ⁷ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι, *be filled with terror.* ⁸ ἄκλειστοι, *open.* ⁹ ἐντευξόμεθα, *fall in with, find.* ¹⁰ μέλλειν, *delay.* ¹¹ τῶν ἀπαντώντων, *those who met them.*

πάλιν εῖσω, οἱ δὲ ἐβόων· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν συνεβόων αὐτοῖς ὡς κωμασταὶ ὅντες καὶ αὐτοί. καὶ 45 ἕρντες ἥ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγένοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ καὶ Γαδάτῃ τεταγμένοι κεκλειμένας εὐρίσκουσι τὰς πύλας τοῦ βασιλείου· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας ταχθέντες ἐπεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς πύνουσι πρὸς φῶς¹ πολύ, καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς πολεμίοις ἔχρωντο 50 αὐτοῖς. ὡς δὲ κραυγὴ καὶ κτύπος ἐγίγνετο, αἰσθόμενοι οἱ ἔνδον τοῦ θορύβου, κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐκθέουσι² τινες ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γαδάταν ὡς εἶδον τὰς πύλας χαλώσας³ εἰσπίπτουσι καὶ τοῖς πάλιν φεύγουσιν 55 εῖσω ἐφεπόμενοι καὶ παίοντες ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ἥδη ἐστηκότα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσπασμένον ὃν εἶχεν ἀκινάκην⁴ εὐρίσκουσι. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οἱ σὺν Γαδάτῃ καὶ Γωβρύᾳ ἐχειροῦντο.⁵ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπέθησκον, ὃ μὲν προβαλόμενός τι,⁶ ὃ δὲ φεύγων, ὃ 60 δέ γε καὶ ἀμυνόμενος⁷ ὅτῳ ἐδύνατο. ὃ δὲ Κῦρος διέπεμπε τὰς τῶν ἵππων τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ προεῖπεν οὖς μὲν ἔξω λαμβάνοιεν κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις κηρύττειν τοὺς συριστὶ ἐπισταμένους⁸ ἔνδον μένειν· εἰ δέ τις ἔξω ληφθείη, ὅτι θανατώσοιτο.

A

When Cyrus heard that the Babylonians were celebrating⁹ a festival, he resolved to enter the city on that night,

¹ φῶς, *light*. ² ἐκθέουσι, *rush out*. ³ χαλώσας, *giving way*. ⁴ ἀκινάκην, *sword* (Persian). ⁵ ἐχειροῦντο, *overpowered*. ⁶ προβαλόμενός τι, *holding up something for defense*. ⁷ ἀμυνόμενος, *fighting in defense*. ⁸ τοὺς συριστὶ ἐπισταμένους, *those who understood Syrian*.

⁹ *Were celebrating, ἄγω*.

knowing that they would be given up to drinking and revelry. So, when it became dark, he ordered some of his men ⁵ to open the trenches he had dug, in order that the water should flow through them during the night, and then stationed others to tell him when the river became fordable.

This they did; and, meanwhile, in order that his troops might be of better courage, he called them together and ¹⁰ spoke as follows: ‘‘Men, you see that the river is giving way before us; what then, should we fear? You yourselves know what men these are against whom we are going. We have already conquered them, arrayed for battle; but now we shall find them not only unprepared, but some of them actually¹ ¹⁵ asleep and others drunken. Come, seize your arms and follow me.’’

B

When he had spoken thus, they entered the city with all speed and, cutting down² those who met them, reached the palace; for the Babylonians thought they too were revelers. There they found a guard before the gates, but they were ⁵ drinking just as³ the others, and Cyrus’s party, falling on them unexpectedly,⁴ easily killed them. Meanwhile the people inside heard the clamor, and opened⁵ the gates to see what the trouble was, and thus the Persians were able to enter and reach the king himself. Him they slew, and ¹⁰ many of those with him perished also, some while fighting and others while fleeing. Then Cyrus called his horsemen, and said to them: ‘‘Ride⁶ through the streets, and slay all whom you find abroad; and proclaim to those within, that, if they remain in their houses, they will suffer no harm, but ¹⁵ that otherwise⁷ we shall treat them as foes.’’

¹ *Actually, καλ.*

² *Cutting down, κατακβπτω.* ³ *Just as, ωσπερ καλ.* ⁴ *Unexpectedly, εξαλφης, εξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.* ⁵ *Opened, ἀνοιγμι.* ⁶ *Ride, Ελαύνω.* ⁷ *Otherwise, ει δὲ μή.*

X

THE WALLS OF ATHENS; CUNNING OF
THEMISTOCLES*Thucydides, 1, 90 ff.*

[Of Thucydides's life we know little more than he himself tells us, although there is a mass of dubious tradition. He was the son of Olorus, and was an Athenian; and he makes it clear that he was old enough at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.), to follow and study the course of events with a man's judgment. The date of his birth falls, therefore, presumably between 470 and 455. He was at Athens during the plague (430-426), and was himself attacked by it. In the eventful year 424 he was one of the ten Athenian generals, and, with Eucles, was in charge of the Thracian district. When Brasidas attacked Amphipolis, Thucydides, who was at Thasos, hurried to its defense with seven ships, but arrived too late to save the city. He secured, however, and successfully held, Eion, a place a little further down the river. In this matter it is impossible now to say whether or not he was guilty of gross neglect; his enemies charged him with being unduly influenced by the possession of interests in some gold mines which tradition has located in Scapte-Hyle, in Thrace. After this he himself tells us that he went into banishment for twenty years. His return to Athens, therefore, falls just at the close of the war. The period of his banishment was spent in collecting materials for his history; for that he conceived the idea of writing it at the beginning of the war appears from the introduction, and the circumstances in which he was placed made it possible

for him to move freely among the states of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

We may add to these few facts that he appears to have been related to Cimon (and, possibly, to the Pisistratidae), and that his training was that of an Athenian of the upper class in the palmiest days of the city.

His great History, which was left incomplete, was his only work—a veritable *κτῆμα* *ἐς ἀεί*, still replete with lessons for the statesman and the historian, and telling us much of the keen-sightedness and sound philosophic judgment of the man. It is but right to add, however, that of late years his fairness has been called into question, and that, in some respects, Herodotus, with his conception of the broad sweep of universal history, comes nearer to the modern ideal of an historian.

With the narrative here given, cf. *Plutarch*, “*Themistocles*,” 19; and see *Grote*, IV, p. 333 ff.; *Curtius*, II, 355 ff.; *Duruy*, II, II, p. 504 ff.; *Cox*, II, p. 2 ff.; *Holm*, II, p. 91 ff.; and *Abbott*, II, p. 247 ff.]

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἥλθον πρεσβείᾳ, τὰ μὲν¹ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἀν ὄρῶντες² μήτ’ ἔκείνους μήτ’ ἄλλον μηδένα τείχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλέον³ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔξοτρυνόντων⁴ καὶ φοβουμένων 65 τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν⁴ γενομένην. ἥξιον⁵ τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις είστηκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους,⁶ τὸ μὲν⁷ βουλόμενον καὶ

¹ τὰ μὲν . . . τὸ δὲ πλέον, partly . . . but especially. ² ἥδιον ἀν ὄρῶντες, because they would have preferred to see. ³ ἔξοτρυνόντων, urging on. ⁴ τόλμαν γενομέμην, bravery they had shown. ⁵ ἥξιον, requested, demanded. ⁶ περιβόλους, surrounding walls. ⁷ τὸ μὲν . . . τῆς γνώμης, their real wish and their suspicions.

10 ὅποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
 ὡς¹ δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὐθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἀν ἔχοντος¹
 ἀπὸ ἔχυροῦ² ποθεν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὁρμᾶ-
 σθαι· τήν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἵκανὴν
 εἶναι ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ ἀφορμήν.³

15 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμη τοὺς μὲν
 Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας, ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι
 πέμψουσιν ὡς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν, εὐθὺς
 ἀπῆλλαξαν.⁴ ἔαυτὸν δὲ ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὡς τάχι-
 στα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς
 20 ἔαυτῷ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ'
 ἐπισχεῖν⁵ μέχρι τοσούτου ἔως ἀν τὸ τεῖχος ἵκανὸν
 ἄρωσιν⁶ ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου
 ὑψους.⁷ τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
 καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους⁸ μήτε
 25 ἴδιου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὡφελία
 ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα. καὶ ὁ
 μὲν ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ ὑπειπών, τᾶλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει
 πράξοι, ὥχετο. καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονα ἐλθὼν οὐ
 προσῆι πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε⁹ καὶ προυφασί-
 30 ζετο.¹⁰ καὶ ὅπότε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων¹¹
 ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς ξυμπρέσβεις
 ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας¹² δέ τινος οὕσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολει-
 φθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι μέντοι ἐν τάχει ἥξειν καὶ θαυ-
 μάζειν ὡς οὕπω πάρεισιν.

¹ ὡς . . . οὐκ ἀν ἔχοντος, on the alleged ground that . . . would not have (be able). ² ἔχυρον, stronghold. ³ ἀφορμήν, base. ⁴ ἀπῆλλαξαν, got rid of. ⁵ ἐπισχεῖν, wait. ⁶ ἄρωσιν, should have raised. ⁷ ὑψους, height. ⁸ φειδομένους, sparing. ⁹ διῆγε, delayed. ¹⁰ προυφασίζετο, kept making pretexts. ¹¹ τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων, the magistrates. ¹² ἀσχολίας, business.

35 Οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπείθοντο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικούμενων¹ καὶ σαφῶς² κατηγορούντων³ ὅτι τειχίζεται τε καὶ ἡδη ὕψος λαμβάνει, οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι. γνοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνος κελεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι⁴ 40 ἡ πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄιδρας οἵτινες χρηστοὶ καὶ πιστῶς ἀπαγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι. ἀποστέλλονται οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα⁵ πέμπει κελεύων ὡς ἡκιστα ἐπιφανῶς⁶ κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι πρὶν ἀν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν⁷ (ἡδη 45 γὰρ καὶ ἥκον αὐτῷ οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις. Ἀβρώνχος τε ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀγγέλλοιτες ἔχειν ἵκανως τὸ τεῖχος). ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὅπότε σαφῶς ἀκούσειν. οὐκέτι ἀφῶσιν. οἱ τε οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥσπερ ἐπειδή στάλη κατεῖχον, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα δὴ φαερῶς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετείχισται ἡδη ὥστε ἵκανή εἶναι σώζειν τοὺς ἐγοικοῦντας, εἰ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι⁸ παρὰ σφᾶς. ὡς πρὸς διαγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ἱέναι⁹ τά τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά.

A

The Lacedaemonians, when they learned that the Athenians were about to fortify their city with a wall, sent an

¹ ἀσκούμενοι, as a noun, *the others who came, all who came*.
² καὶ σαφῶς, *positively*: καὶ is emphatic, not connective. ³ κατηγορούντων, *desiring*. ⁴ παραγεσθα, *be misled*. ⁵ κρύφα, *secretly*. ⁶ ὡς ἡκιστα ἐπιφανῶς, *as quietly as possible*. ⁷ κομισθῶσιν, *should get home*.
⁸ πρεσβεύεσθαι, *governed by δολονται*. ⁹ ιέναι, *that they should come, imperative in direct discourse*.

embassy to Athens and bade them not to do this. "For," said they, "it would be better that¹ neither you nor any others outside of the Peloponnesus should have walls; then, should the Persians come again, they would not be able to use² any fortified places as a base.³ So do you join with us in tearing down the walls that already stand."⁴ Thus they spoke, but really⁵ they feared the Athenians, who had shown themselves brave in the face of⁶ the Mede and who now had a navy.

But Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to dismiss the Lacedaemonians by promising⁵ that they would send an embassy about the matter.⁶ Then he advised them to send him at once,⁷ for he would manage matters at Sparta, and, on their part, to set about building⁸ the walls with all speed, and not to allow⁹ the other ambassadors to set out until¹⁰ the wall was high enough at least for defense.

B

So Themistocles departed; but when he reached Lacedaemon, he did not go at once to the authorities, but waited, and when asked¹¹ why he did not transact the business for which¹² he had come, answered: "I am waiting for my fellow ambassadors, who were left behind on account of some business; for until they come I am unwilling¹³ to do anything."¹⁴

At length they came; but meanwhile the rumor went abroad¹⁴ that they were walling Athens, so that the Lacedaemonians again asked Themistocles how the matter stood.¹⁵

¹ *Would be better that*, *ἀμείνον*, with infin. ² *Use . . . as a base*, imitate the text. ³ *Really*, *τῷ δυτὶ*. ⁴ *In the face of*, *πρὸς*. ⁵ *By promising*, omit *by*. ⁶ *Matter*, *πρᾶγμα*. ⁷ *At once*, *αὐτίκα*. ⁸ *Set about building*, pres. infin. ⁹ *Allow*, *ἔω*. ¹⁰ *Until*, *πρὶν*.

¹¹ *When asked*, partic. ¹² *Business for which* = *things on account of which*. ¹³ *Am unwilling*, *οὐκ ἔθελω*. ¹⁴ *Rumor went abroad*, *λόγος*, with *διέρχομαι*. ¹⁵ *Stood*, *ἔχω*.

10 But he bade them to send trusty men to find out,¹ and himself secretly sent a messenger to Athens with the message:² “Keep these men until we ourselves are let go.” Then he told the authorities plainly that Athens was now walled, for he knew that, although angered³ at having been⁴ deceived,
15 they would let him and his fellow ambassadors go, in order that those whom they had themselves sent might come back.

¹ *To find out, οἴτινες*, with fut. ² *With the message = to announce (partic.) the following things.* ³ *Angered*, perf. of *ἀργιζομαι*. ⁴ *At having been*, causal clause, with *διότι*.

XI

THE SEA-FIGHT AT SYBOTA

Thucydides (see p. 59), 1, 48 ff.

[See *Grote*, *IV*, pp. 545 ff.; *Curtius*, *III*, pp. 12 ff.; *Duruy*, *III*, *I*, pp. 205 ff.; *Cox*, *II*, pp. 81 ff.; *Holm*, *II*, pp. 309 ff.; and *Abbott*, *III*, pp. 80 ff.]

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο τοῖς Κορινθίοις, λαβόντες τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία ἀνήγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χειμερίου νυκτός, καὶ ἄμα ἔω¹ πλέοντες καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους² τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς 5 πλεούσας. ὡς δὲ κατεῖδον ἀλλήλους, ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Κερκυραίων αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπεῖχον, τρία τέλη³ ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ὡν ἥρχε τριῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου εἴς. οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἐτάξαντο. Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν 10 δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρακιώτιδες, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἐκαστοι, εὐώνυμοι δὲ κέρας αὐτοὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταῖς ἄριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶχον.

15 Ξυμμείξαντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέροις ἥρθη,⁴ ἐναυμάχουν, πολλοὺς μὲν ὄπλίτας ἔχοντες ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων,⁵ πολλοὺς δὲ τοξότας τε καὶ

¹ ἄμα ἔω, *at dawn*. ² μετεώρους, *at sea*. ³ τέλη, *divisions*. ⁴ ἥρθη, *were raised*. ⁵ καταστρωμάτων, *decks*.

ἀκοντιστάς, τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ἀπειρότερον ἔτι παρεσκευασμένοι. ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερά, τῇ μὲν 20 τέχνῃ οὐχ ὄμοιώς, πεζομαχίᾳ δὲ τὸ πλέον προσφερῆς² οὖσα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσβάλοιεν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ρᾳδίως ἀπελύοντο ὑπό τε πλήθους καὶ ὅχλου τῶν νεῶν καὶ μᾶλλον τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀπλίταις ἐς τὴν νίκην, οἱ καταστάντες³ ἐμάχοντο ἡσυχαζούσῶν τῶν νεῶν· διέκποι⁴ δ' οὐκ ἥσαν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ ρώμῃ τὸ πλέον ἐναυμάχουν ἦ ἐπιστήμη.⁵ πανταχῷ μὲν οὖν πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ ταραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυμαχία, ἐν ᾧ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγιγνόμεναι τοῖς Κερκυραίοις, εἴ πη πιέζοιντο,⁶ φόβον μὲν παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, 30 μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἥρχον δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν⁷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπόνει.⁸ οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεψάμενοι καὶ καταδιώξαντες σποράδας⁹ ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον¹⁰ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες 35 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησάν¹¹ τε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐρήμους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.

Ταύτη μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσωντό¹² τε καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν· ἦ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἥσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολὺ ἐνίκων, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους 40 ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρουσῶν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζομένους μᾶλλον ἥδη ἀπροφασί-

¹ παλαιῷ, *old-fashioned*. ² προσφερῆς, *like*. ³ καταστάντες, *taking their positions*. ⁴ διέκποι, see note on I, 1. 37. ⁵ ἐπιστήμη, *skill*. ⁶ πιέζοντο, *were hard pressed*. ⁷ πρόρρησιν, *commands*. ⁸ ἐπόνει, *labored, metaphor*. ⁹ σποράδας, *scattered*. ¹⁰ ἥπειρον, *mainland*. ¹¹ ἐνέπρησαν, *burned*. ¹² ἡσσωντο, *were worsted*.

στως¹ ἐπεκούρουν,² τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ
ἔμβάλλειν τινί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ³ ἐγένετο λαμπρῶς⁴ καὶ
45 ἐνέκειντο⁵ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τότε δὴ ἔργου πᾶς εἴχετο ὥδη
καὶ διεκέκριτο⁶ οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο
ἀνάγκης ὥστε ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθίους
καὶ Ἀθηναίους.

A

The Corinthians, when their preparations had been made, bade their men lay in supplies for three days, and set out. It was night, but when day dawned⁷ they saw that the Corcyraeans had also put to sea, and were sailing against them. 5 So both sides made ready for battle, arranged as follows: the Athenian ships held the right wing of the Corcyraeans, and after them came the rest, in three divisions. On the side of the Corinthians there were, opposite the Corcyraeans, the ships of the allies, but, opposite the Athenians, holding 10 the left wing, the Corinthians themselves.

In this battle they managed their ships somewhat unskillfully, and there were no manœuvres;⁸ but there were many hoplites and bowmen on the decks of all the vessels, and they trusted rather in these. The engagement was fierce, 15 and when they rammed one another they did not immediately draw apart, but, letting⁹ their vessels lie to, they fought as if on land; for their bravery¹⁰ was greater than their skill.

B

Now commands had been given¹¹ to the Athenian generals not to attack the Corinthians; so, at first, they merely¹² bore

¹ ἀπροφαστστως, *openly, without disguise.* ² ἐπεκούρουν, *bore aid.*

³ τροπή, *rout.* ⁴ λαμπρῶς, *manifestly.* ⁵ ἐνέκειντο, *were pressing on.*

⁶ διεκέκριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι, *no distinction was any longer made.*

⁷ *Dawned, ὑποβαλλω, or, simply, γίγνομαι.* ⁸ *Manœuvres, διέκπλοι and περίπλοι.* ⁹ *Letting . . . lie to, follow the text.* ¹⁰ *Bravery, ἀνδρεῖα.*

¹¹ *Commands had been given, εἴρητο.* ¹² *Merely, μόνον.*

aid when the Corcyraeans were hard pressed. But the battle was fierce and confused. On the right wing the Corinthians 5 were worsted, for the Corcyraeans routed them, and with twenty ships pursued them as far as the mainland, and there, disembarking, plundered and burned their camp. But on the left wing the Corinthians conquered; for the Corcyraean ships were fewer and twenty of them had gone off¹ in pursuit. 10 So the Corcyraeans were hard pressed and the Athenians bore aid more openly. At first they rammed no one; but when the Corcyraeans were in full flight and the Corinthians were pressing on as victors, it seemed impossible any longer to hold aloof. So it came to pass that the fight was no 15 longer between² the Corinthians and their allies and the Corcyraeans, but between the Corinthians and Athenians.

¹ *Gone off*, *ἀπολύχουμαι*, with partic. ² *Between*, not *μεταξύ*; use gen. with *πρός* and acc.

XII

THE ATTACK ON PLATAEA

Thucydides (see p. 59), 2, 2 ff.

[The parallel account in [Demosthenes], 69, 99 ff., is very close. See also Grote, V, pp. 37 ff.; Curtius, III, pp. 53 ff.; Duruy, III, I, pp. 217 ff.; Cox, II, pp. 104 ff.; Holm, II, pp. 321 ff.; and Abbott, III, pp. 111 ff.]

Τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἐνέμειναν¹ αἱ τριακοντούτεις σπονδαὶ αἱ ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, . . . ἅμα ἥρι² ἀρχομένῳ Θηβαίων ἄνδρες ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων (ἥγοῦντο δὲ 5 αὐτῶν βοιωταρχοῦντες Πυθάγγελός τε ὁ Φυλείδον καὶ Διέμπορος ὁ Ὀνητορίδον) ἐσῆλθον περὶ πρῶτον ὑπονούντος ὅπλοις ἐς Πλάταιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας, οὐσαν Ἀθηναίων ἔνυμαχίδα. ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀνέψει³ τὰς πύλας Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες Ναυκλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, 10 βουλόμενοι ἴδιας ἔνεκα δυνάμεως ἄνδρας τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς σφίσιν ὑπεναντίους διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θηβαίοις προσποιῆσαι. ἐπραξαν⁴ δὲ ταῦτα δι' Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδον ἀνδρὸς Θηβαίων δυνατωτάτου. προϊδόντες γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅτι ἔσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος, 15 ἐβούλοντο τὴν Πλάταιαν, ἀεὶ σφίσι διάφορον⁵ οὐσαν,

¹ ἐνέμειναν, remained in force. ² ἥρι, spring (the date was probably Apr. 4, 431 B.C.). ³ ἀνέψει, opened. ⁴ ἐπραξαν, negotiated. ⁵ διάφορον, at variance.

ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μήπω φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος, προκαταλαβεῖν. ἦ καὶ ῥᾶον¹ ἔλαθον ἐσελθόντες, φυλακῆς οὐ προκαθεστηκύιας. θέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς μὲν ἐπαγομένοις οὐκ ἐπείθοντο 20 ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι καὶ ἵέναι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἔχθρῶν. γνώμην δὲ ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασί τε χρήσασθαι ἐπιτηδείοις καὶ ἐς ξύμβασιν² μᾶλλον καὶ φιλίαν τὴν πόλιν ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ ἀνεῖπεν ὁ κῆρυξ, εἴ τις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχεῖν, 25 τίθεσθαι παρ' αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα, νομίζοντες σφίσι τρόπω τῷ τρόπῳ προσχωρήσειν τὴν πόλιν.

Οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὡς ἥσθοντο ἔνδον τε ὄντας τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ἔξαπιναίως³ κατειλημμένην τὴν πόλιν, καταδείσαντες καὶ νομίσαντες πολλῷ πλείους ἐσεληλυθέναι (οὐ γὰρ ἔώρων ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ), πρὸς ξύμβασιν ἔχώρησαν καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεξάμενοι ἡσύχαζον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον.⁴ πράσσοντες δέ πως ταῦτα κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὄντας καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαδίως κρατήσειν· τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν⁵ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι καὶ ξυνελέγοντο διορύσσοντες τοὺς κοινοὺς τοίχους παρ' ἄλλήλους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν φανεροὶ ὁσινθόντες, ἀμάξας τε ἄνευ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς 40 καθίστασαν, ὥν ἀντὶ τείχους ἦ, καὶ τάλλα ἔξηρτυν⁶ ἦ ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐτοῦμα ἦν, φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα

¹ ῥᾶον, *more easily*. ² ξύμβασιν, *agreement, treaty*; cf. ξυνέβησαν, I. 79. ³ ἔξαπιναίως, cf. I. I. 20. ⁴ οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον, *adopted no harsh measures*. ⁵ οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν, *freely, did not wish*. ⁶ ἔξηρτυν, *made ready*.

καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον¹ ἔχώρουν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις οὖσι 45 προσφέρωνται καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἵσου γίγνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτεροι² ὅντες ἥστους ὥσι τῆς σφετέρας ἐμπειρίας³ τῆς κατὰ⁴ τὴν πόλιν. προσέβαλόν τε εὐθὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἥσαν κατὰ τάχος.

Οἱ δ' ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἡπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντό τε 50 ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς ἥ προσπίπτοιεν ἀπεωθοῦντο.⁴ καὶ δὶς μὲν ἡ τρὶς ἀπεκρούσαντο,⁵ ἔπειτα πολλῷ θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε προσβαλόντων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἄμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ⁶ χρωμένων λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳ⁷ βαλλόντων, καὶ ὑετοῦ⁸ ἄμα διὰ νυκτὸς πολλοῦ ἐπιγενομένου, ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ τραπόμενοι ἔφυγον διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀπειροι μὲν ὅντες οἱ πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ⁹ τῶν διόδων ἥ χρὴ σωθῆναι (καὶ γὰρ τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν), ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας 60 τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν,¹⁰ ὥστε διεφθείροντο πολλοί. τῶν τε Πλαταιῶν τις τὰς πύλας ἥ ἐσῆλθον καὶ αἴπερ ἥσαν ἀνεῳγμέναι μόναι, ἔκλησε στυρακίῳ¹¹ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου¹² χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν, ὥστε μηδὲ ταύτη ἔτι ἔξοδον εἶναι.

65 Διωκόμενοί τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἱ μέν τινες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες ἔρριψαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω σφᾶς αὐτοὺς

¹ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον, *the time just before dawn.* ² φοβερώτεροι, here, *more timid.* ³ ἐμπειρίας . . . κατά, *acquaintance with.* ⁴ ἀπεωθοῦντο, *sought to repel.* ⁵ ἀπεκρούσαντο, *did drive back.* ⁶ ὀλολυγή, *cries (of women).* ⁷ κεράμῳ, *tiling, collective.* ⁸ ὑετοῦ, *rain.* ⁹ πηλῷ, *mud.* ¹⁰ τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, *that they should not escape;* a dubious phrase, considered spurious by many. ¹¹ στυρακίῳ, *spike (at the butt end of a spear).* ¹² βαλάνου, *pin, for holding the bar (μοχλὸς) in place.*

καὶ διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλείους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν¹ λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν ἐξῆλθον οὐ πολλοί (αἰσθησις γὰρ ταχεῖα τὸ ἐπεγένετο), ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ τῆς πόλεως σποράδην² ἀπώλλυντο. τὸ δὲ πλεῦστον καὶ ὅσον μάλιστα ἦν ξυνεστραμμένον ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς οἰκημα μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ πλησίον θύραι ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, οἰόμενοι πύλας τὰς θύρας τοῦ οἰκήματος εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἄντικρυς³ δίοδον ἐς τὸ ἔξω. ὄρωντες δὲ οἱ Πλαταιῆς αὐτοὺς ἀπειλημμένους⁴ ἐβούλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ οἰκημα, εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσωνται. τέλος δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν Θηβαίων περιῆσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλανώμενοι,⁵ ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα χρήσασθαι ὃ τι ἀν βούλωνται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιᾳ οὔτως ἐπεπράγεσαν.

A

In the fifteenth year after the taking of⁶ Euboea, certain of the Plataeans, wishing to increase their own power⁷ and to destroy their opponents, induced some Thebans to enter Plataea by night under arms, promising that they would themselves open the gates for them. The Thebans, on their part,⁸ thought that they could easily get possession of the city, which was in alliance with Athens, inasmuch as it was in time of peace and no guard would be stationed; and, fore-

¹ πέλεκυν, *axe*. ² σποράδην, *scattered*; cf. *σποράδας*, XI, I. 33.

³ ἄντικρυς, *straight through*. ⁴ ἀπειλημμένους, *cut off*. ⁵ πλανώμενοι, *wandering*.

⁶ *The taking of*, omit the article. ⁷ *Increase their own power=become more powerful*. ⁸ *On their part*, δ' *at*.

seeing that the war was going to break out,¹ they desired to do this. Now those who brought them in wanted to proceed at once to the houses of their foes, but the Thebans thought it better to make a suitable proclamation, in the hope that² they could thus accomplish their end without³ a battle. So they halted under arms in the agora, and the herald proceeded as follows: "Whoso wishes to abide by the ancestral customs of the Boeotians, let him come over to us; otherwise we shall treat⁴ him as an enemy."

B

When the Plataeans heard this, they were the more ready⁵ to come to a parley as⁶ they supposed that the Thebans were numerous; for it was night and they could not see that a few⁷ only had entered. So they accepted the proposals, although it was not their wish⁸ to revolt from the Athenians.

But, while they were negotiating this, they observed that the Thebans were, at most,⁹ three hundred in number, and they resolved not to hand their city over¹⁰ to so few, but to attack them, thinking that they could overpower them. So they made their preparations and began to get together. It was possible for them to do this unobserved¹¹ by digging through the party-walls of the houses. When all was ready, they made their attack a little before¹² day. For they knew that the Thebans, being unfamiliar¹³ with the streets, would be at a disadvantage,¹⁴ and besides¹⁵ would be more timid because of the darkness.

¹ *To break out* = *to be*. ² *In the hope that*, *ως*, with fut. partic.

³ *Without*, *ἄνεν*, with gen. ⁴ *Treat*, *χρωματι*.

⁵ *More ready . . . as*, *μᾶλλον ἔτοιμος*, followed by partic. or clause with *διέτι*. ⁶ *Few*, *δλῆγος*. ⁷ *It was not their wish = they did not wish*. ⁸ *At most*, *μάλιστα*. ⁹ *Hand . . . over*, *παραδίδωμι*. ¹⁰ *Do this unobserved*, *λανθάνω*, with partic.

¹¹ *A little before*, *μικρὸν πρό*.

¹² *Being unfamiliar*, *ἄτε*, with partic. ¹³ *Be at a disadvantage*, *μεῖνον ἔχω*. ¹⁴ *Besides*, *πρός*, as adverb.

C

Thus the Thebans were routed, for not only did the men fall upon them in the streets but the women and slaves pelted them with tiles from the houses. Now as they fled many perished in the mud and darkness, and they knew not how 5 to¹ escape; for the gate by which they had entered had alone been opened, and this the Plataeans quickly closed. It is also said that a woman gave some of them an axe, and that with this they cut the bar of a gate that was not guarded, and so escaped; but these were not many. Of the rest, some 10 flung themselves from the walls, and some were cut down in the streets, but the majority rushed into a large building, thinking that through it there was a way out. For it adjoined² the city wall. There they were cooped up; and the Plataeans declared that they would set fire to the building and burn them, unless they surrendered themselves and their arms unconditionally.³

¹ *How to*, πῶς χρῆ. ² *Adjoined*=*was (part) of*. ³ *Unconditionally*, imitate the text.

XIII

THE ESCAPE OF THE PLATAEANS

Thucydides (p. 59), 3, 20 ff.

[See Grote, *V*, pp. 154 ff.; Curtius, *III*, pp. 113 ff.; Duruy, *III*, *I*, pp. 253 ff.; Cox, *II*, pp. 171 ff.; Holm, *II*, pp. 355 ff.; and Abbott, *III*, pp. 161 ff. [Demosthenes] 69, 103, gives the story briefly.]

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος¹ οἱ Πλαταιῆς (ἔτι γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν) ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπιέζοντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὐδεμίᾳ ἐλπὶς ἦν τιμωρίας² οὐδὲ ἄλλη σωτηρία 5 ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξυμπολιορκούμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντες ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ἦν δύνωνται βιάσασθαι,³ ἐσηγησαμένου⁴ τὴν πεῖραν αὐτοῖς Θεαινέτου τε τοῦ Τολμίδου, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως,⁵ καὶ Εὐπομπίδου τοῦ 10 Δαιμάχου, ὃς καὶ ἐστρατήγει· ἐπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις⁶ ἀπώκνησάν⁷ πως τὸν κύνδυνον μέγαν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἐνέμειναν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἐθελονταὶ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κλίμακας⁸ ἐποιήσαντο 15 ἵστας τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων· ξυνεμετρήσαντο⁹ δὲ ταῖς

¹ χειμῶνος, *winter*. ² τιμωρίας, *help*. ³ βιάσασθαι, *to force (a passage)*.

⁴ ἐσηγησαμένου, *having proposed*. ⁵ μάντεως, *soothsayer*. ⁶ ἡμίσεις, *half*.

⁷ ἀπώκνησαν, *gave up through fear*. ⁸ κλίμακας, *ladders*. ⁹ ξυνεμετρήσαντο, *measured*.

15 ἐπιβολαῖς¹ τῶν πλίνθων,² ἥ ἔτυχε πρὸς σφᾶς οὐκ ἔξα-
ληλιμμένον³ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν. ἡριθμοῦντο δὲ πολλοὶ
άμα τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ ἔμελλον οἱ μέν τινες ἀμαρτή-
σεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλείους τεύξεσθαι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λογισ-
μοῦ,⁴ ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλάκις ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ ἄμα οὐ
20 πολὺ ἀπέχοντες, ἄλλὰ ῥᾳδίως καθορωμένον ἐσ ὁ ἐβού-
λοντο τοῦ τείχους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ξυμμέτρησιν τῶν
κλιμάκων οὗτως ἔλαβον, ἐκ τοῦ πάχους τῆς πλίνθου
εἰκάσαντες τὸ μέτρον.

Τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν τῶν Πέλοποννησίων τοιόνδε τῇ
25 οἰκοδομήσει. εἶχε μὲν δύο τοὺς περιβόλους, πρὸς τε
Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίοι, διεῖχον
δὲ οἱ περίβολοι ἑκκαίδεκα πόδας μάλιστα ἀπ' ἄλληλων.
τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο, οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες, τοῖς φύλαξιν
οἰκήματα διανενεμημένα⁵ ὡκοδόμητο, καὶ ἦν ξυνεχῆ⁶
30 ὥστε ἐν φαίνεσθαι τεῖχος παχὺ ἐπάλξεις⁷ ἔχον ἀμφοτέ-
ρωθεν. διὰ δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων πύργοι ἥσταν μεγάλοι
καὶ ἴσοπλατεῖς τῷ τείχει, διήκοντες⁸ ἐσ τὸ τὸ ἔσω
μέτωπον⁹ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ ἔξω, ὥστε πάροδον
μὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργον, ἄλλὰ δι' αὐτῶν μέσων διῆσαν.
35 τὰς οὖν νύκτας, ὅπότε χειμῶν εἴη νοτερός,¹⁰ τὰς μὲν
ἐπάλξεις ἀπέλειπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πύργων, ὅντων δι' ὀλίγου
καὶ ἄνωθεν στεγανῶν,¹¹ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τὸ
μὲν οὖν τεῖχος ὡς περιεφρουροῦντο οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιοῦ-
τον ἦν.

40 Οἱ δέ, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς, τηρήσαντες¹²

¹ ἐπιβολαῖς, courses. ² πλίνθων, brick. ³ ἔξαληλιμμένον, whitewashed.

⁴ λογισμοῦ, count. ⁵ διανενεμημένα, allotted (severally). ⁶ ξυνεχῆ, con-
tinuous. ⁷ ἐπάλξεις, battlements. ⁸ διήκοντες, reaching. ⁹ μέτωπον,
front. ¹⁰ χειμῶν νοτερός, rain-storm. ¹¹ στεγανῶν, covered. ¹² τηρή-
σαντες, waiting for; cf. φυλάξαντες XII, 1. 42.

νύκτα χειμέριον¹ ὅδατι καὶ ἄμα ἀσέληνον² ἔξῆσταν· ἥγοῦντο δὲ οἵπερ καὶ τῆς πείρας αἴτιοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τάφρον διέβησαν ἡ περιεῖχεν αὐτούς, ἔπειτα προσέμειξαν³ τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων λαθόντες τοὺς 45 φύλακας, ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν⁴ μὲν οὐ προϊδόντων αὐτῶν, ψόφῳ⁵ δὲ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι αὐτοὺς ἀντιπαταγοῦντος⁶ τοῦ ἀνέμου οὐ κατακουσάντων· ἄμα δὲ καὶ διέχοντες πολὺ⁷ ἦσαν, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα μὴ κρουόμενα πρὸς ἄλληλα αἰσθησιν παρέχοι. ἦσαν δὲ εὐσταλεῖς⁸ 50 τε τῇ ὅπλίσει καὶ τὸν ἀριστερὸν πόδα μόνον ὑποδεδεμένοι ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν. κατὰ οὖν μεταπύργιον⁹ προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐρῆμοί εἰσι, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰς κλίμακας φέροντες, καὶ προσέθεσαν· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ 55 θώρακι ἀνέβαινον, ὥν ἥγειτο Ἀμμέας ὁ Κοροίβον καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι ἔξ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον. ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξὺν δορατίοις¹⁰ ἔχώρουν, οἷς ἔτεροι κατόπιν¹¹ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι ράον προσβαίνοιεν, καὶ 60 ἔμελλον δώσειν ὅπότε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους εἶεν.

‘Ως δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο, ἦσθοντο οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων φύλακες· κατέβαλε γάρ τις τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων κεραμίδα, ἡ πεσοῦσα δοῦπον¹² ἐποίησε. καὶ αὐτίκα βοὴ ἦν, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ὥρμησεν· οὐ γάρ ἦδε ὁ τι ἦν τὸ δεινὸν σκοτεινῆς νυκτὸς καὶ χειμῶνος ὅντος, καὶ

¹ χειμέριον, *stormy*. ² ἀσέληνον, *moonless*. ³ προσέμειξαν, *approached*.

⁴ τὸ σκοτεινόν, *darkness*. ⁵ ψόφῳ, *noise*. ⁶ ἀντιπαταγοῦντος, *drowning (soundling against)*.

⁷ διέχοντες πολύ, *at a distance from one another*.

⁸ εὐσταλεῖς, *light-armed*. ⁹ μεταπύργιον, *space between two towers*.

¹⁰ δορατίοις, *spears*. ¹¹ κατόπιν, *behind*. ¹² δοῦπον, *noise*.

άμα οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Πλαταιῶν ὑπολελειμμένοι
 ἔξελθόντες προσέβαλον τῷ τείχει τῶν Πελοποννησίων
 ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἦ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ὑπερέβαινον, ὅπως
 70 ἥκιστα πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν. ἐθορυβοῦντο μὲν
 οὖν κατὰ χώραν μένοντες, βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα ἐκ
 τῆς αὐτῶν φυλακῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἥσαν εἰκάσαι¹
 τὸ γιγνόμενον. καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτῶν, οἵς ἐτέτακτο
 παραβοηθεῖν εἴ τι δέοι, ἔχώρουν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πρὸς
 75 τὴν βοήν. φρυκτοί τε ἥροντο ἐς τὰς Θήβας πολέμιοι·
 παρανῆσχον² δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς ἀπὸ
 τοῦ τείχους φρυκτοὺς πολλοὺς πρότερον παρεσκευα-
 σμένους ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅπως ἀσφαῇ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς
 φρυκτωρίας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἥ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῦεν, ἄλλο τι
 80 νομίσαντες τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι ἥ τὸ ὄν, πρὶν σφῶν οἱ
 ἄνδρες οἱ ἔξιόντες διαφύγοιεν καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντι-
 λάβοιντο.

Οἱ δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντες τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς οἱ
 πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἀνεβεβήκεσαν καὶ τοῦ πύργου ἑκατέρου
 85 τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείραντες ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, τάς τε
 διόδους τῶν πύργων ἐνστάντες αὐτοὶ ἐφύλασσον μη-
 δένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς πύργοις καὶ ἐπαναβιβάσαντες
 ἄνδρας πλείους, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἐπιβοη-
 90 θοῦντας καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν εἰργον³ βάλλοντες, οἱ
 δ' ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πλείους πολλὰς προσθέντες κλίμακας
 ἄμα καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπώσαντες⁴ διὰ τοῦ μεταπυργίου
 ὑπερέβαινον. ὁ δὲ διακομιζόμενος⁵ ἀεὶ ἵστατο ἐπὶ τοῦ
 χείλους⁶ τῆς τάφρου καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἥκόντι-

¹ εἰκάσαι, *to guess.* ² παρανῆσχον, *raised beside.* ³ εἰργον, *shut out.*

⁴ ἀπώσαντες, *throwing down.* ⁵ διακομιζόμενος, *getting over.* ⁶ cf. p. 79, n. 5.

95 ζον, εἴ τις παραβοηθῶν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος κωλυτὴς γίγνοιτο¹ τῆς διαβάσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες διεπεπεραίωντο,² οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι καταβαίνοντες ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτοῖς ἐπεφέροντο³ λαμπάδας⁴ ἔχοντες. οἱ 100 μὲν οὖν Πλαταιῆς ἐκείνους ἔώρων μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους⁵ τῆς τάφρου, καὶ ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὄντες ἥστον διὰ τὰς λαμπάδας καθεωρῶντο, ὥστε φθάνουσι τῶν Πλαταιῶν καὶ οἱ ὕστατοι διαβάντες τὴν 105 τάφρον, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βιαίως· κρύσταλλός⁶ τε γὰρ ἐπεπήγει⁷ οὐ βέβαιος⁸ ἐν αὐτῇ ὥστ⁹ ἐπελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ οἷος⁹ ἀπηλιώτου ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον,⁹ καὶ ἡ νὺξ τοιούτῳ ἀνέμῳ ὑπονιφομένη¹⁰ πολὺ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεπιτήκει, ὃ μόλις ὑπερέχοντες¹¹ ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἡ 110 διάφευξις αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέγεθος.

‘Ορμήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἔχώρουν ἀθρόοι τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὁδόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον,¹² νομίζοντες ἥκιστ¹³ ἀν σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι¹³ τραπέσθαι 115 τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ἄμα ἔώρων τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τὴν πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀθηνῶν φέρουσαν μετὰ λαμπάδων διώκοντας. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἔξ οὐταὶ σταδίους οἱ Πλαταιῆς τὴν ἐπὶ

¹ κωλυτὴς γίγνοιτο, *hindered*. ² διεπεπεραίωντο, *had got across*.

³ ἐπεφέροντο, *rushed on*. ⁴ λαμπάδας, *torches*. ⁵ χείλους, *edge*. ⁶ κρύσταλλος, *ice*. ⁷ ἐπεπήγει, *had formed*. ⁸ βέβαιος . . . ὥστε, *strong enough for them to*. ⁹ οἷος . . . μᾶλλον, *such as (forms) when the wind is east, rather watery*. ¹⁰ ὑπονιφομένη, *freely, accompanied by snow*.

¹¹ ὑπερέχοντες, *keeping (their heads) above*. ¹² ἡρῷον, *sanctuary, precinct*. ¹³ ἥκιστ[’] ἀν . . . ὑποτοπῆσαι, *would be least apt to suspect*.

τῶν Θηβῶν ἔχώρησαν, ἔπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες¹ ἦσαν
 120 τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἐς Ἐρύθρας καὶ
 'Τσιάς, καὶ λαβόμενοι² τῶν ὄρῶν διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς
 'Αθήνας, ἄνδρες δώδεκα καὶ διακόσιοι ἀπὸ πλειόνων
 εἰσὶ γάρ τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ἀπετράποντο ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 125 πρὶν ὑπερβαίνειν, εἷς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξω τάφρῳ τοξότης
 ἐλήφθη. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ χώραν ἐγέ-
 νοντο τῆς βοηθείας πανσάμενοι· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 Πλαταιῆς τῶν μὲν γεγενημένων εἰδότες οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ
 ἀποτραπομένων σφίσιν ἀπαγγειλάντων ὡς οὐδεὶς περί-
 εστι, κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐσπέν-
 130 δοντο ἀναίρεσιν³ τοῖς νεκροῖς, μαθόντες δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς
 ὑπερβάντες ἐσώθησαν.

A

The Plataeans, then, were besieged by the Peloponnesians and Thebans, and, when their food had given out and there was no longer any hope of help from Athens, they resolved to make a sortie, and to try⁴ to escape by climbing over the wall which the enemy had built⁵ around their city. The danger was not small, and some shrank from it, but about two hundred and twenty made the attempt, thinking it preferable⁶ to perish at the enemy's hands rather than⁶ by famine.

10 So they made ladders, in order to scale the wall, guessing at its height by counting the courses of brick; and inasmuch as many were counting, it was to be expected that⁷ some

¹ ὑποστρέψαντες, *turning about*. ² λαβόμενοι, *reaching*. ³ ἀναίρεσιν, *recovery*.

⁴ *Try*, *πειρῶμαι*. ⁵ *Had built*, *οἰκοδομῶ*. ⁶ *Thinking it preferable . . . than*, *αἰροῦμαι . . . μᾶλλον ἢ*. ⁷ *It was to be expected that=some were going to*.

would hit the truth. Now there were two walls, sixteen feet apart, and upon them battlements and towers in which
 15 the Thebans kept guard whenever it was stormy. In the space between the walls were the houses they had built; so that the whole appeared to be a single wall.

B

They made their preparations accordingly, and when a stormy and moonless night came they went forth, and, crossing the ditch, approached the Thebans' wall unobserved by the guards; for, on account of the darkness, they could not
 5 see them, and the noise of the wind prevented¹ their being heard.² Then they set up their ladders, and twelve men mounted, armed only with daggers and breast-plates. These proceeded, six toward either tower (for they had chosen a place between two towers), and after them followed others.
 10 Here it was³ that the guards observed them, hearing the sound of a tile knocked down by one of the Plataeans when he laid hold of it. They, therefore, straightway raised an outcry,⁴ and, hearing this, their whole army rushed forth; but it was at a loss to know what the danger was, or what
 15 was to be done. And the Plataeans who had not gone forth now made a sally⁵ in order that the Thebans might pay heed to them and not to the others.

C

Meanwhile the first of the Plataeans had ascended the wall and by slaying the guards had got possession of the towers on either side so that no one could pass, and others climbed up on the towers and from them were hurling darts
 5 upon all who approached. Thus the main body was able to

¹ Prevented, *κωλνω*. ² Being heard, act. infin. with art. ³ Here it was, *ἐνθα δή*. ⁴ Raised an outcry, *βοῶ*. ⁵ Made a sally, *ἐπεξέρχομαι*.

cross without opposition,¹ and reached the ditch in safety;² and, at the last, those from the towers also descended and joined³ them, although not without difficulty.⁴ Here they saw rushing toward them the three hundred Thebans, whose ¹⁰ duty it was⁵ to bear aid wherever needed. They carried⁶ torches, so that the Plataeans could see them readily while themselves in the darkness; and by hurling javelins and shooting arrows at them they threw them into confusion,⁷ so that they were able to escape these also and to set about ¹⁵ crossing⁸ the ditch.

D

This was no easy task,⁹ for the water was deep and the ice which had formed in the night was not strong enough to bear them;¹⁰ for an east wind had been blowing,¹¹ accompanied by snow. Still¹² they succeeded in crossing, one and all, and ⁵ took¹³ the road toward Thebes; for they thought the enemy would suppose they had gone toward Athens. And this¹⁴ became plain; for they could see the Thebans pursuing along that road. They themselves, therefore, when they had gone about seven stadia, turned toward the mountains, and so ¹⁰ reached Athens. Thus these escaped, and one only was taken. Those in the city, however, supposed that they had all been slain; for some of the number had turned back through fear,¹⁵ and had reported that not one of them survived. Nor did they learn the truth until on the next day ¹⁵ they sent a herald to negotiate¹⁶ for the burial of the dead.

¹ *Without opposition*, gen. abs. ² *In safety*, $\sigma\omega\iota$. ³ *Joined*, $\sigma\mu\mu\epsilon\lambda\gamma\gamma\mu\mu$. ⁴ *Not without difficulty* = *hardly*. ⁵ *Whose duty it was*, impers. pass. of verb. of ordering (with dat.), or use $\chi\rho\acute{\eta}$. ⁶ *Carried* = *had*. ⁷ *Threw into confusion*, $\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\tau\omega$. ⁸ *Set about crossing*, pres. infin.

⁹ *No easy task* = *not easy*, $\beta\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\sigma$. ¹⁰ *To bear them*, imitate the text. ¹¹ *Had been blowing*, $\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. ¹² *Still*, $\delta\mu\omega\acute{s}$. ¹³ *Took* = *went*, with cognate acc. ¹⁴ *And this* = *which also*. ¹⁵ *Through fear*, partic. (aor. pass.). ¹⁶ *Negotiate*, $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$.

XIV

THE PUNISHMENT OF MYTILENE

Thucydides (see p. 59), 3, 36 ff.

[See *Grote*, *V*, pp. 164 ff.; *Curtius III*, pp. 118 ff.; *Duruy*, *III*, *I*, pp. 246 ff.; *Cox*, *II*, pp. 162 ff.; *Holm*, *II*, pp. 350 ff.; and *Abbott*, *III*, pp. 168 ff.]

Αφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ Σαλαίθου οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μὲν Σάλαιθον εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἔστιν ἀ
 παρεχόμενον¹ τά τ’ ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ Πλαταιῶν (ἔτι γὰρ
 ἐπολιορκοῦντο) ἀπάξειν Πελοποννησίους· περὶ δὲ τῶν
 5 ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς² ἔδοξεν
 αὐτοῖς οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἄλλὰ καὶ
 τοὺς ἄπαντας Μυτιληναίους ὅσοι ἡβῶσι,³ παιδας δὲ
 καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσαι, ἐπικαλοῦντες⁴ τὴν τε
 ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι
 10 ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ προσξυνεβάλετο⁵ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς
 ὄρμῆς⁶ αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐκείνοις
 βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεῦσαι·⁷ οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ
 βραχείας διανοίας⁸ ἐδόκουν τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιήσασθαι.
 πέμπουσιν οὖν τριήρη ὡς Πάχητα ἄγγελον τῶν δεδογ-
 15 μένων, κατὰ τάχος κελεύοντες διαχρήσασθαι⁹ Μυτι-

¹ παρεχόμενον, *offering, promising*. ² ὀργῆς, *anger*. ³ ἡβῶσι, *were adults*. ⁴ ἐπικαλοῦντες, *charging them with*. ⁵ προσξυνεβάλετο, *contributed*. ⁶ ὄρμῆς, *excitement*. ⁷ παρακινδυνεῦσαι, *to venture*. ⁸ οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ βραχείας διανοίας, *i.e. after long consideration*. ⁹ διαχρήσασθαι, *to slay*.

ληναιόντων· καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετάνοιά¹ τις εὐθὺς ἦν
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναλογισμὸς² ὡμὸν³ τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα⁴
ἔγνωσθαι, πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς
αἰτίους.⁴ ὡς δ' ἥσθοντο τοῦτο τῶν Μυτιληναίων οἱ
20 παρόντες πρέσβεις καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔνυ-
πράσσοντες, παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς ἐν τέλει⁵ ὥστε αὐθίς
γνώμας προθεῖναι· καὶ ἔπεισαν ῥάον, διότι καὶ ἐκείνοις
ἔνδηλον ἦν βουλόμενον τὸ πλέον τῶν πολιτῶν αὐθίς
τινας⁶ σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι βουλεύσασθαι. καταστάσης⁷
25 δ' εὐθὺς ἐκκλησίας ἄλλαι τε γνῶμαι ἀφ' ἐκάστων ἐλέ-
γοντο καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κλεανέτου, ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν προτέραν
ἐνευικήκει ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, ὃν καὶ ἐσ τὰ ἄλλα βιαιό-
τατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε
πιθανώτατος,⁸ παρελθὼν αὐθίς ἐλεγε τοιάδε. . . .

30 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέων εἶπε. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν Διόδοτος
ὁ Εὐκράτους, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἀντέλεγε μάλιστα μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι Μυτιληναίους, παρελ-
θὼν καὶ τότε ἐλεγε τοιάδε.

Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὁ Διόδοτος εἶπε. ῥηθεισῶν δὲ τῶν
35 γνωμῶν τούτων μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας⁹ οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἥλθον μὲν ἐσ ἀγῶνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης καὶ
ἔγένοντο ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ¹⁰ ἀγχώμαλοι,¹¹ ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ
τοῦ Διοδότου. καὶ τριήρη εὐθὺς ἄλλην ἀπέστελλον,
κατὰ σπουδήν, ὅπως μὴ φθασάσης τῆς προτέρας
40 εῦρωσι διεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν· προεῖχε¹² δὲ ἡμέρᾳ
καὶ νυκτὶ μάλιστα. παρασκευασάντων δὲ τῶν Μυτι-

¹ μετάνοια, *change of mind, repentance*. ² ἀναλογισμός, *reflection*.

³ ὡμὸν, *savage*. ⁴ αἰτίους, *the guilty ones*. ⁵ τοὺς ἐν τέλει, cf. X, I. 30.

⁶ τινας, i.e. *the authorities*. ⁷ καταστάσης, *convened*. ⁸ πιθανώτατος, *most influential*.

⁹ ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας, *of equal weight*. ¹⁰ χειροτονίᾳ, *vote*.

¹¹ ἀγχώμαλοι, *about evenly divided*. ¹² προεῖχε, *had a start*.

ληναίων πρέσβεων τῇ νηὶ οἶνον καὶ ἄλφιτα¹ καὶ μεγάλα
ὑποσχομένων, εἰ φθάσαιεν, ἐγένετο σπουδὴ τοῦ πλοῦ
τοιαύτη ὥστε ἥσθιόν τε ἄμα ἐλαύνοντες, οἶνῳ καὶ
45 ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιτα πεφυραμένα,² καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπνον ἥροῦντο
κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἥλαυνον. κατὰ τύχην δὲ πνεύματος
οὐδενὸς ἐναντιωθέντος καὶ τῆς μὲν προτέρας νεὼς οὐ
σπουδῇ πλεούσης ἐπὶ πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον,³ ταύτης δὲ
τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπειγομένης,⁴ ή μὲν ἔφθασε τοσοῦτον
50 ὅσον Πάχητα ἀνεγνωκέναι⁵ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ μέλλειν
δράσειν τὰ δεδογμένα, ή δ' ὑστέρα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγε-
ται⁶ καὶ διεκώλυσε μὴ διαφθεῖραι. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν
ή Μυτιλήνη ἥλθε κινδύνουν.

A

When Salaethus reached Athens he was at once put to death, although he promised, if they would let him go,⁷ that he would induce the Peloponnesians to withdraw from Plataea, which they were still besieging. After this the Athenians debated what they should do about the people of Mytilene; and so wroth⁸ were they, that they resolved to slay all the adult males and to enslave the women and children. For it seemed that it was thanks to⁹ them that a Peloponnesian fleet had dared to venture over to Asia. They sent, 10 therefore, a vessel to Paches bearing this message; but next day, when they reflected that they had voted to destroy an entire city, they repented, for the deed seemed to them savage. So they induced the authorities to convene another

¹ ἄλφιτα, *barley meal*. ² πεφυραμένα, *kneaded with*. ³ ἀλλόκοτον, *monstrous*. ⁴ ἐπειγομένης, *hastening*. ⁵ ἀνεγνωκέναι, *had read*. ⁶ ἐπικατάγεται, *came into port (after)*.

⁷ *Let him go*, ἀφίημι. ⁸ *Wroth*, ὥργισμένος. ⁹ *Thanks to*, διά, *with acc.*

assembly (and in this the ambassadors of Mytilene coöperated
 15 with them), in order that they might again bring the subject
 before¹ the people; and the authorities were glad to do it,
 since they saw that most of the citizens were thus minded.²

B

In this assembly many others spoke, but, in particular, Cleon the son of Cleaenetus. He was a most violent man, but one with great influence among the people, and he had been³ chiefly responsible⁴ for the resolutions passed in the
 5 former assembly. He now got up and sought to persuade them that they should by no means change their minds. After him Diodotus came forward on the opposite side,⁵ and although the votes⁶ were nearly equal,⁷ prevailed. They therefore straightway⁸ despatched another trireme in all
 10 haste, for they feared lest the former one should reach Mytilene first. For the same reason the Mytilenean ambassadors promised the men large sums⁹ if they should outstrip¹⁰ the other vessel, which had a start of a day and a night. They also made ready for them meal kneaded with oil and
 15 wine, and the men themselves were so eager¹¹ that they ate while rowing and did not even stop¹² at night, but slept on board by turns. Even thus¹³ they arrived a little after¹⁴ the other vessel, when Paches was about to slay the men. So nearly did the Mytileneans perish.

¹ Bring the subject before, *γνώμας προτίθημι περί*. ² Thus minded, *τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχω*.

³ Had been, *ἦν*. ⁴ Responsible, *αἰτιος*. ⁵ On the opposite side = speaking in opposition. ⁶ Votes, *ψῆφοι*. ⁷ Nearly equal: avoid *ἀγχώματοι*; *σχεδὸν τσαὶ* is normal. ⁸ Straightway, *εὐθύς*. ⁹ Large sums, *πολλά*, simply. ¹⁰ Outstrip, *παρέρχομαι*. ¹¹ Eager, *πρόθυμος*, or use *σπουδάξω*. ¹² Stop, *παύομαι*. ¹³ Even thus, *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς*. ¹⁴ A little after, *διλγώ υστερός* (as adj.).

XV

THE MUTILATION OF THE HERMAE

Thucydides (see p. 59), 6, 27 ff.

[See *Grote*, VI, pp. 4 ff.; *Curtius*, III, pp. 349 ff.; *Duruy*, III, I, pp. 312 ff.; *Cox*, II, pp. 341 ff.; *Holm*, II, pp. 469 ff.; and *Abbott*, III, pp. 305 ff. Parallel and supplementary accounts from *Plutarch*, *Isocrates*, and *Andocides* are given in the following sections.]

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, ὅσοι Ἐρμαῖ¹ ἦσαν λίθινοι² ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων (εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον³ ἡ τετράγωνος⁴ ἐργασία, ⁵ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἴδιοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς) μιᾶς νυκτὶ οἱ πλεῦστοι περιεκόπησαν⁶ τὰ πρόσωπα. καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας ἥδει οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις μηνύτροις⁷ δημοσίᾳ⁸ οὗτοί τε ἔζητοῦντο καὶ προσέτι ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλο τι οἶδεν ἀσέβημα⁹ γεγενημένον, μηνύειν¹⁰ ἀδεῶς¹¹ τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ δούλων. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα μειζόνως ἐλάμβανον· τοῦ τε γὰρ ἔκπλου οἰωνὸς¹² ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ ξυνωμοσίᾳ¹³ ἄμα νεωτέρων πραγμάτων καὶ δήμους καταλύσεως γεγενῆσθαι.

¹ Ερμαῖ, *statues of Hermes*. ² λίθινοι, *of marble*. ³ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον, *after the custom of the country*. ⁴ τετράγωνος, *squared*. ⁵ ἐργασία, *workmanship*, but here concrete; *trans.*, *freely*, with τετράγωνος, *the (well-known) squared figures*. ⁶ περιεκόπησαν, *were defaced*.

⁷ μηνύτροις, *rewards*. ⁸ δημοσίᾳ, *i.e. from the treasury*. ⁹ ἀσέβημα, *act of impiety*. ¹⁰ μηνύειν, *give information*. ¹¹ ἀδεῶς, *under pledge of immunity*. ¹² οἰωνός, *omen*. ¹³ ξυνωμοσίᾳ, *conspiracy*.

Μηνύεται οὖν ἀπὸ μετοίκων τέτινων καὶ ἀκολούθων¹ περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἐρμῶν οὐδέν, ἀλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων² 15 περικοπαί τινες πρότερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρων μετὰ παιδιᾶς³ καὶ οἴνου γεγενημέναι, καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἀμα ὡς ποιεῖται ἐν οἰκίαις ἐφ' ὕβρει.⁴ ὅν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπητιῶντο.⁵ καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ μάλιστα τῷ 20 Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι⁶ ἐμποδὼν⁷ ὅντι σφίσι μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δήμου βεβαίως προεστάναι,⁸ καὶ νομίσαντες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἔξελάσειαν, πρῶτοι ἀν εἶναι. ἐμεγάλυνον⁹ καὶ ἐβόων ὡς ἐπὶ δήμου καταλύσει τά τε μυστικὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπὴ γένοιτο καὶ οὐδὲν εἴη αὐτῶν ὅ τι οὐ μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπράχθη. ἐπιλέγοντες⁹ τεκμήρια τὴν 25 ἄλλην¹⁰ αὐτοῦ ἐσ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομίαν.¹⁰

‘Ο δ’ ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὰ μηνύματα ἀπελογεῖτο¹¹ καὶ ἐτοῦμος ἦν πρὶν ἐκπλεῦν κρίνεσθαι, εἴ τι τούτων εἰργασμένος ἦν (ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς¹² 30 ἐπεπόριστο¹³), καὶ εἰ μὲν τούτων τι εἰργαστο. δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ’ ἀπολυθείη, ἄρχειν.¹⁴ καὶ ἐπεμαρτύρετο¹⁵ μὴ ἀπόντος πέρι αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἥδη ἀποκτείνειν, εἰ ἀδικεῖ, καὶ ὅτι σωφρονέστερον¹⁶ εἴη μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν διαγνῶσι, πέμπειν αὐτὸν 35 ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ στρατεύματι. οἱ δ’ ἔχθροὶ δεδιότες τό τε

¹ ἀκολούθων, *body-servants*. ² ἀγαλμάτων, *statues*. ³ παιδιᾶς, *sport*.

⁴ ἐφ' ὕβρει, *with ποιεῖται, travestied*. ⁵ ἐπητιῶντο, *charged*. ⁶ ἀχθόμενοι, *cf. VII, l. 15.* ⁷ ἐμποδὼν . . . σφίσι μὴ . . . προεστάναι, *in the way of their standing at the head of*. ⁸ ἐμεγάλυνον, *magnified*. ⁹ ἐπιλέγοντες, *adding*. ¹⁰ τὴν ἄλλην . . . παρανομίαν, *other excesses of his in private life unbecoming an adherent of the democracy*. ¹¹ ἀπελογεῖτο, *sought to defend himself*. ¹² τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς, *the armament (for the expedition to Sicily)*. ¹³ ἐπεπόριστο, *was ready*. ¹⁴ ἄρχειν, *to retain his command*. ¹⁵ ἐπεμαρτύρετο, *he adjured*. ¹⁶ σωφρονέστερον, *wiser*.

στράτευμα μὴ εὗνον ἔχη, ἦν ἡδη ἀγωνίζηται,¹ ὃ τε
δῆμος μὴ μαλακίζηται,² θεραπεύων³ ὅτι δι’ ἐκείνον οἱ τ’
Ἄργειοι ξυνεστράτευον καὶ τῶν Μαντινέων τινές, ἀπέ-
τρεπον καὶ ἀπέσπευδον,⁴ ἄλλους ρήτορας ἐνιέντες οἱ
40 ἔλεγον νῦν μὲν πλεῦν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν⁵ τὴν
ἀναγωγήν,⁶ ἐλθόντα δὲ κρίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέραις ρήταις,⁷
βούλομενοι ἐκ μείζονος διαβολῆς,⁸ ἦν ἔμελλον ρᾶσιν
αὐτοῦ ἀπόντος ποριεῖν,⁹ μετάπεμπτον κομισθέντα¹⁰ αὐτὸν
ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πλεῦν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.

A

At this time certain people (although who they were no one could say) defaced in a single night almost¹¹ all the marble Hermae in the city. This act of sacrilege was regarded as ominous for the expedition about to set out, and as proof¹² 5 that some were planning¹³ a revolution. So they offered¹⁴ large rewards to any one who¹⁵ would give information concerning the perpetrators of this or any other such act. Certain metics then gave information concerning the mutilation of other images by drunken¹⁶ youths, and in particular,¹⁷ 10 alleged¹⁸ that certain persons had travestied the mysteries, and that Alcibiades was one of¹⁹ them. This charge²⁰ all those who hated Alcibiades magnified, and, wishing to put him out of the way that they themselves might be first in

¹ ἀγωνίζηται, stand trial. ² μαλακίζηται, weaken. ³ θεραπεύων, favoring. ⁴ ἀπέσπευδον, strongly dissuaded. ⁵ κατασχεῖν, delay. ⁶ ἀναγωγήν, cf. I. 1. 21. ⁷ ρήταις, stated, fixed. ⁸ ἐκ μείζονος διαβολῆς, under more serious calumnies. ⁹ ποριεῖν, bring forward. ¹⁰ μετάπεμπτον κομισθέντα, brought back on summons, recalled.

¹¹ Almost, σχεδὸν. ¹² Proof, τεκμήριον. ¹³ Planning, βούλευων. ¹⁴ Offered, impf. of διδωμι. ¹⁵ To any one who = if any one. ¹⁶ Drunken, μεθύων ορ μεθυσθεῖς. ¹⁷ In particular, καὶ δὴ ορ καὶ δὴ κατ. ¹⁸ Alleged, φάσκω. ¹⁹ One of, omit one. ²⁰ This charge, ταῦτα.

the state, cried out that this was plainly¹ done for the
15 subversion of the democracy, and that Alcibiades was cognizant of it and himself guilty.²

B

Upon this Alcibiades sought to clear himself from³ the charges, and said: "Men of Athens, try me now, if you think I have done any such thing, before we set out, for you see that the armament is ready. If you find me guilty,⁴ I am 5 ready to pay the penalty; if not, let⁵ me hold my command. But, I adjure you, do not listen to⁶ calumnies against me in my absence, nor let me set out under so grievous a⁷ charge."

But his enemies, knowing that the army was well-disposed to him and the people as well⁸ (for it was thanks to 10 him that the Argives and Mantineans had joined the expedition), would not⁹ listen to this, but declared that it was not fair¹⁰ to delay the expedition. Let him return, rather, at a time agreed upon, and stand his trial. This they did, fearing that, if tried before the army departed, he might be 15 acquitted,¹¹ and wishing to stir up¹² still stronger feeling¹³ against him. So it was decided that he should sail.

¹ Plainly, *φανερῶς*. ² Guilty, see XIV, 1. 19.

³ Clear himself from, *ἀπολύομαι*, with acc. ⁴ Find guilty, *καταγιγνώσκω* or *καταψηφίζομαι*, with gen. ⁵ Let, *ἐῳ*. ⁶ Listen to, follow the text. ⁷ So grievous *α*, *τοσοῦτος*. ⁸ As well, *δημός*. ⁹ Would not, see p. 18, note 2. ¹⁰ Fair, *δίκαιος*. ¹¹ Be acquitted, *ἀποφεύγω*. ¹² Stir up, *ἐγείρω*. ¹³ Feeling, *δργή*.

XVI

THE MUTILATION OF THE HERMAE

Plutarch, "Alcibiades," 18 ff.

[Plutarch was a native of Chaeronea in Boeotia. The date of his birth is fixed approximately by the fact that he was a student at Athens when Nero visited Greece in 66 A.D. Of his life little may be said. He held high office and enjoyed high repute in his native land, and was honored also by Athens and Delphi. He often visited Rome, and formed connections with noble families there, and, later, even with the court, so that he is said to have been given consular rank by Trajan, and a late tradition speaks of him as tutor to Hadrian. He died sometime after the year 120, when he must have been over eighty years of age. To the wide range of his studies, and to his tireless literary activity, his numerous works bear witness. A list still extant under the name of Lamprias, Plutarch's son (?), gives two hundred and ten titles. These include, first of all, the famous *Lives*—still a household book. They number fifty—twenty-three pairs of "parallels" and four separate lives. The other works, now grouped together under the general Latin title *Moralia*, embrace tracts on religion, philosophy, ethics, literature, and politics.]

Ἡ μέντοι τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπή, μιᾶς νυκτὶ τῶν πλείστων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων τὰ πρόσωπα,¹ πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν περιφρονούντων² τὰ τοιαῦτα διετάραξεν. ἐλέχθη μὲν

¹ ἀκρωτηριασθέντων τὰ πρόσωπα. *defaced.* ² περιφρονούντων, *scorning.*

οῦν, ὅτι Κορίνθιοι διὰ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀποίκους
 5 ὅντας, ὡς ἐπισχέσεως¹ ἐσομένης πρὸς τῶν οἰωνῶν ἡ
 μεταγνώσεως τοῦ πολέμου, ταῦτα δράσειαν.² οὐ μὴν
 ἥπτετό³ γε τῶν πολλῶν οὕθ' οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὕθ' ὁ τῶν
 σημείον δεινὸν εἶναι μηδὲν οἰομένων, ἀλλ' οῖα φιλεῖ
 φέρειν ἄκρατος⁴ ἀκολάστων⁵ νέων εἰς ὕβριν ἐκ παιδιᾶς
 10 ὑπερφερομένων· ὄργῃ δ' ἄμα καὶ φόβῳ τὸ γεγονὸς
 λαμβάνοντες ὡς ἀπὸ συνωμοσίας ἐπὶ πράγμασι μεγά-
 λοις τετολμημένον, ἀπασαν ἐξήταζον⁶ ὑπόνοιαν⁷ πικρῶς⁸
 ἥ τε βουλὴ συνιοῦσα περὶ τούτων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν ὀλί-
 γαις ἡμέραις πολλάκις.

15 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δούλους τινὰς καὶ μετοίκους προήγαγεν
 'Ανδροκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἄλλων τε ἀγαλμάτων περικο-
 πᾶς καὶ μυστηρίων παρ' οἶνον ἀπομιμήσεις⁹ τοῦ Ἀλκι-
 βιάδου καὶ τῶν φίλων κατηγοροῦντας. ἔλεγον δὲ
 Θεόδωρον μέν τινα δρᾶν τὰ τοῦ κήρυκος, Πουλυτίωνα
 20 δὲ τὰ τοῦ δαδούχου,¹⁰ τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου¹¹ τὸν Ἀλκι-
 βιάδην, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἔταίρους παρεῖναι καὶ μνεῖσθαι¹²
 μύστας προσαγορευομένους.¹³ ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ εἰσαγ-
 γελίᾳ γέγραπται Θεστάλου τοῦ Κίμωνος εἰσαγγείλαν-
 τος Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀσεβεῖν περὶ τῷ θεῷ.¹⁴ τραχυνομένου¹⁵
 25 δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πικρῶς πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἔχοντος,
 καὶ τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους (ἥν γὰρ οὗτος ἔχθρὸς ἐν τοῖς

¹ἐπισχέσεως, *delay*. ²δράσειαν, *had done*. ³ἥπτετο, *laid hold of*, i.e. *won currency among*. ⁴ἄκρατος, *strong* (lit. *unmixed*) *wine*.
⁵ἀκολάστων, *wanton*; the construction is gen. abs. ⁶ἐξήταζον, *tested*.
⁷ὑπόνοιαν, *suspicion, conjecture*. ⁸πικρῶς, *harshly*, lit. *bitterly*.
⁹ἀπομιμήσεις, *travestylings*. ¹⁰δαδούχου, *the torch-bearer*. ¹¹ἱεροφάντου, *the hierophant*, i.e. *the initiating priest*. ¹²μνεῖσθαι, *be initiated*.
¹³μύστας προσαγορευομένους, *being addressed as mystae*. ¹⁴τῷ θεῷ, i.e. *Demeter and Persephone*. ¹⁵τραχυνομένου, *being incensed*.

μάλιστα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου) παροξύνοντος,¹ ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐταράχθησαν οἱ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούς τε ναύτας, ὅσοι πλεῖν ἔμελλον εἰς Σικελίαν, εὔνους
 30 ὅντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικόν, Ἀργείων δὲ καὶ Μαντινέων χιλίων ὅντων ὀπλιτῶν ἀκούοντες ἀναφανδὸν² λεγόντων, ὡς δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατεύουστο διαπόντιον³ καὶ μακρὰν στρατείαν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἀγνωμονῇ⁴ περὶ τοῦτον,
 35 εὐθὺς ἀποστήσεσθαι, ἀνεθάρρουν καὶ παρίσταντο τῷ καιρῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς πάλιν ἀθυμεῖν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ περὶ τὴν κρίσιν ὁ δῆμος ἀμβλύτερος⁵ αὐτῷ γένηται διὰ τὴν χρείαν.⁶ πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν τεχνάζουσι⁷ τῶν ρήτορων τοὺς οὐ δοκοῦντας ἔχθροὺς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, μισοῦντας δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ
 40 ἥττον τῶν ὁμολογούντων, ἀνισταμένους ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λέγειν, ὡς ἄτοπον⁸ ἐστιν αὐτοκράτορι στρατηγῷ τηλικαύτης ἀποδεδειγμένῳ⁹ δυνάμεως ἥθροισμένης στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, μεταξὺ κληροῦντας δικαστήριον¹⁰ καὶ ὕδωρ διαμετροῦντας¹¹ ἀπολλύναι τὸν
 45 καιρόν. Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ πλεέτω, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου διαπραχθέντος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀπολογείσθω παρών. οὐκ ἐλάνθανε μὲν οὖν ἡ κακοήθεια¹² τῆς ἀναβολῆς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἀλλ' ἐλεγε παριών, ὡς δεινόν ἐστιν αἰτίας ἀπολιπόντα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δια-
 50 βολὰς ἐκπέμπεσθαι μετέωρον¹³ ἐπὶ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως.

¹ παροξύνοντος. *urging them on.* ² ἀναφανδόν, *openly.* ³ διαπόντιον, *across the sea.* ⁴ ἀγνωμονῇ, *act unfairly.* ⁵ ἀμβλύτερος, *less keen.* ⁶ χρείαν, *need.* ⁷ τεχνάζουσι, *contrive.* ⁸ ἄτοπον, *absurd.* ⁹ ἀποδεδειγμένῳ, *appointed.* ¹⁰ κληροῦντας δικαστήριον, *impaneling a jury (by lot).* ¹¹ ὕδωρ διαμετροῦντας, *measuring off the time (for the speakers).* This was done by the clepsydra, or water clock. ¹² κακοήθεια, *malicious purpose.* ¹³ μετέωρον, *abroad.*

ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ προσήκειν¹ μὴ λύσαντι τὰς κατηγορίας, λύσαντι δὲ καὶ φανέντι καθαρῷ τρέπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δεδοικότι τοὺς συκοφάντας.

’Επεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ πλεῦν ἐκέλευον αὐτόν,
55 ἀνήχθη.

A

When the mutilation of the Hermae took place all the Athenians were alarmed, even those who scorned such signs. Some said that the Corinthians had done it (for the Syracusans were their allies), in order that the Athenians might 5 delay² the expedition or even³ change their minds, and others, that the matter was of no import;⁴ but most men were filled with⁵ anger and dread, assuming⁶ that those who had done this would dare some great deed. While they were thus minded, Androcles accused Alcibiades and others 10 of travestying⁷ the mysteries, and brought forward slaves as witnesses.⁸ These declared that one played the part of the herald, another that of a torch-bearer, and that Alcibiades himself was hierophant. At this⁹ the people were bitterly incensed against Alcibiades, and Androcles, who was a foe of 15 his, urged them on. Thus Alcibiades and his friends were much disturbed.

B

The sailors, however, were on their side,¹⁰ and the soldiers too; the Argives and Mantineans even declared that they would not go on so distant an expedition across the sea, unless Alcibiades were their leader;¹¹ so they plucked up

¹ προσήκειν, *it was fitting.*

² *Delay*, ἀναβάλλομαι, ἔπέχω. ³ *Even*, κατ. ⁴ *Of no import = nothing.* ⁵ *Filled with*, μεστός, with gen. ⁶ *Assuming*, οὔματι, or use gen. abs. with ως. ⁷ *Of travestying = that he travestied.* ⁸ *Witnesses*, μάρτυς; omit as. ⁹ *At this*, διὰ ταῦτα.

¹⁰ *On their side*, μετά. ¹¹ *Were their leader*, ἡγοῦματι, with gen.

5 heart and were eager¹ that the trial be held. But those who hated Alcibiades, fearing that the people might acquit² him, devised the following plan.³ They bade those who were not supposed to be Alcibiades's enemies, but who really hated him no less than they did, to declare in the assembly that it
10 was not right to lose time by trying him now, but that he should sail. "After⁴ the war is over," they said, "let him defend himself in person." Alcibiades, however, perceiving their malice, declared that it was outrageous⁵ to send him forth leaving charges and calumnies behind him. "If I
15 cannot free myself," he said, "from so grievous a charge, let me be put to death; but if I can, let me set out with no fear of the sycophants."

But the Athenians were not persuaded.

¹ Were eager, *σπουδάζω*, with infin. ² Acquit, *ἀποφῆγματι*.

³ Plan, omit, and use the plural. ⁴ After, *ἐπειδάν*, with subj., or use gen. abs., as in the text. ⁵ Outrageous, *δεινός*.

XVII

A DEFENSE OF ALCIBIADES

Isocrates, 16, 3 ff.

[Isocrates was born in 436 B.C. His father, Theodorus, was a well-to-do manufacturer, who was able to give his son every educational advantage Athens afforded. Many famous sophists are named as his teachers—notably Protagoras, Prodicus, and Gorgias—and he further stood in close relations to Socrates. He lost his fortune in the last years of the Peloponnesian war, and was forced to leave Athens during the rule of the Thirty; tradition says, because he had dared to speak out against Critias's treatment of Theramenes. After the overthrow of the Thirty, he returned to Athens and began to write speeches for the law-courts, a profession he afterwards came to despise. His natural diffidence and a weak voice kept him from entering public life, nor do we hear of his overcoming these obstacles as Demosthenes did. About 392 he opened his school of rhetoric. This was most successful, and his fame spread over Greece. Many noted men became his pupils. In connection with this work he appears as a political essayist, ever seeking to lead the Greeks to lay aside strife among themselves and to unite against Persia. He died in 338, shortly after the battle of Chaeronea, at the great age of ninety-eight. We possess twenty-one speeches of his, all of them probably genuine, and nine (or ten) letters, which are perhaps more open to question.

The speaker in the following extract is Alcibiades the Younger, who bore the same name as his famous father.]

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Τεισίας πολλάκις ὄνειδίζει μοι¹ τὴν φυγὴν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ σπουδάζει πραγμάτων, ἀνάγκη πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν ἀπολογίαν ποιεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀν αἰσχυνοίμην, εἰ τῷ δόξαιμι τῶν πολιτῶν ἥττον φροντίζειν τῆς ἐκείνου δόξης ἢ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κινδύνων.

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους βραχὺς ἀν ἔξήρκει λόγος· ἀπαντεῖ γὰρ ἵσασιν, ὅτι διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ τε δημοκρατία κατελύθη κάκεῖνος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξέπεσεν· τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων ἔνεκα, οἱ τῶν μὲν πραγμάτων ὕστεροι γεγόνασι, τῶν δὲ διαβαλλόντων πολλάκις ἀκηκόασι, πορρωτέρωθεν² ἄρξομαι διδάσκειν.

Οἱ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τῷ δήμῳ καὶ καταστήσαντες τοὺς τετρακοσίους, ἐπειδὴ παρακαλούμενος³ ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ἥθελε γενέσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν, ὅρωντες αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἐρρωμένως ἔχοντα⁴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος πιστῶς διακείμενον,⁵ οὐχ ἥγοῦντ' οὐδὲν οἷοί τ' εἶναι κινεῖν⁶ τῶν καθεστώτων⁷ πρὶν ἐκποδὼν ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. εἰδότες δὲ τὴν πόλιν τῶν μὲν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μάλιστ⁸ ἀν ὅργισθεῖσαν,⁹ εἰς τις εἰς τὰ μυστήρια φαίνοιτ¹⁰ ἔξαμαρτάνων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰς τις τὴν δημοκρατίαν τολμώη καταλύειν, ἀμφοτέρας ταύτας συνθέντας τὰς αἰτίας εἰσήγγελον⁹ εἰς τὴν βουλήν, λέγοντες, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ μὲν συνάγοι τὴν ἔταιρείαν¹⁰ ἐπὶ νεωτέροις πράγμασιν, οὗτοι δ' ἐν τῇ Πουλυτίωνος οἰκίᾳ

¹ ὄνειδίζει μοι, *flings in my teeth.* ² πορρωτέρωθεν, *from further back.*

³ παρακαλούμενος, *although urged.* ⁴ ἐρρωμένως ἔχοντα, *strong, energetic.*

⁵ διακείμενον: *very common in the orators, expressing a settled state or condition.* ⁶ κινεῖν, *disturb.* ⁷ τῶν καθεστώτων, *the established order, i.e. of government.* ⁸ μάλιστ⁸ ἀν ὅργισθεῖσαν, *would be most apt to become incensed.* ⁹ εἰσήγγελον, *lodged a complaint, εἰσαγγελία.* ¹⁰ ἔταιρείαν, *club.*

συνδειπνοῦντες τὰ μυστήρια ποιήσειαν. ὅρθῆς¹ δὲ τῆς πόλεως γενομένης διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ διὰ ταχέων συλλεγείσης ἐκκλησίας οὕτω σαφῶς ἐπέδειξεν αὐτοὺς ψευδομένους, ὥστε παρὰ μὲν τῶν κατηγόρων 30 ἡδέως ἀν δῆμος δίκην ἔλαβε, τὸν δ' εἰς Σικελίαν στρατηγὸν ἔχειροτόνησεν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἔξεπλευσεν ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένος² ἥδη τῆς διαβολῆς, οἱ δὲ συστήσαντες τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ρήτορας ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι πάλιν ἤγειρον³ 35 τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ μηνυτὰς εἰσέπεμπον. καὶ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν; οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν τόν τε πατέρ' ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετεπέμψαντο, καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξεβαλον. πυθόμενος δὲ τήν τε τῶν ἔχθρῶν δύναμιν 40 καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων συμφοράς, καὶ νομίζων δεινὰ πάσχειν, ὅτι παρόντα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔκρινον, ἀπόντος δὲ κατεγίγνωσκον, οὐδ' ὡς ἀπελθεῖν ἤξιώσεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἀλλ' ἔκεινος μὲν τοσαύτην πρόνοιαν⁴ 45 ἔσχεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ⁵ μηδὲ φεύγων μηδὲν ἔξαμαρτάνειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' εἰς Ἀργος ἐλθὼν ἥσυχίαν εἶχεν, οἱ δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑβρεως ἥλθον, ὥστ' ἔπεισαν ὑμᾶς ἔλαυνειν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ στηλίτην ἀναγράφειν⁶ καὶ πρέσβεις πέμποντας ἔξαιτεῖν παρ' Ἀργείων. ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τοῖς παροῦσι 50 κακοῖς καὶ πανταχόθεν εἰργόμενος⁷ καὶ σωτηρίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αὐτῷ φαινομένης τελευτῶν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἡναγκάσθη καταφευγεῖν.

¹ ὅρθῆς, *all astir*. ² ἀπηλλαγμένος, *rid of*. ³ ἤγειρον, *stirred up*, *lit. awoke*. ⁴ πρόνοιαν, *care*. ⁵ ὑπὲρ τοῦ, *trans. not to*, *simply*. ⁶ στηλίτην ἀναγράφειν, *post his name on a slab (στήλη)*, *i.e. as infamous*. ⁷ εἰργόμενος, *excluded*.

A

Since this fellow flings in my teeth the fact that¹ my father was banished by you, and pretends² to be so zealous on your behalf, I must answer these charges, lest I seem to be careless of³ my father's good name. Little need be said 5 to the older ones among you, for you know well that the same men banished my father and overthrew the democracy; but for those who are younger, who do not know the facts but have heard the calumnies, I must tell the story from the beginning.

10 Those, then, who plotted against the democracy when the Four Hundred were put in⁴ power, sent for my father; but he refused to join them. They, therefore, seeing his power and his favor⁵ with the people, decided that they must put him out of the way before they could disturb the 15 existing constitution⁶; and knowing that, in religious matters, you are most incensed if one sin against the mysteries, and, in polities, if one appear to be striving⁷ to overthrow your democracy, they determined to combine these two charges.

B

So they alleged⁸ that my father brought together some of his friends, as a revolutionary club, and that they dared to profane⁹ the mysteries. At this the whole city was startled, so awful was the charge, and the Assembly was at 5 once convened, that the affair might be looked into.¹⁰ And you not only acquitted my father, but elected him general for the Sicilian expedition. So plain was it that¹¹ his accusers were

¹ The fact that, infin. with art. ² Pretends, *προσποιοῦμαι*.

³ Be careless of, *μηδὲν φροντίζειν*. ⁴ Were put in, *καθίστημι*, 2nd aor. act.

⁵ Favor, etc. = the good-will (*εύνοια*) of the people toward him.

⁶ Constitution, *πολιτεία*. ⁷ To be striving, *ἐπιχειρῶ*.

⁸ Alleged, see XV, A. I. 10. ⁹ To profane = to perform. ¹⁰ Be looked into, *εξετάζω*. ¹¹ So plain was it that, use personal construction.

lying. But, after he had sailed, his enemies revamped the affair, and would not desist until they induced you to recall
10 him from his command, and to put many of his friends to death. Learning of this, he would not even now go over to the enemy, ill-treated though he was, but went to Argos and there kept quiet. But when you even demanded his surrender from the Argives, and sought to drive him from all
15 Greece, then he went over to the Lacedaemonians. For what other means of¹ safety had he?

¹ *Means of*, omit.

XVIII

THE INFORMATION OF DIOCLIDES

Andocides, "De Mysteriis," 36 ff.

[Of the life of Andocides little is known save what he himself tells us in his speeches. He was an Athenian, the son of Leogoras, and appears before us for the first time in 415 B.C. in connection with the affair of the Hermae. He, with seventeen others, was denounced by a metic, Teucer, who had himself fled to Megara, as guilty of this outrage, and finally, under promise of immunity, made a confession. Shortly after, despite the promise given him, a decree was passed excluding him from the agora and from all the temples. This was of course virtual banishment. Twice he endeavored to have the decree annulled, but was thwarted by the oligarchs, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his confession. Finally, however, he returned, after the general amnesty of 403, and lived at Athens, a wealthy and public-spirited citizen. In 399 he was again accused by his enemies of impiety, but was, for once, acquitted. We hear of him once more as conducting negotiations for peace with Sparta, in 390; but here, as so often, the result of failure was a new sentence of banishment. We have but four speeches extant under his name. Two of these, *On the Mysteries* and *On His Return*, are regarded as genuine. That *On the Peace* is possibly, and that *Against Alcibiades* certainly, spurious.

Andocides, considered as an artist, is the least important of the Greek orators, but the two genuine speeches are of very great historical interest.]

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, Πείσανδρος καὶ Χαρικλῆς, ὅντες μὲν τῶν ζητητῶν,¹ δοκοῦντες δ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ εὐνούστατοι εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ, ἔλεγον ὡς εἴη τὰ ἔργα τὰ γεγενημένα οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ 5 τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει, καὶ χρῆναι ἐπιζητεῖν² καὶ μὴ παύσασθαι. καὶ ἡ πόλις οὕτως διέκειτο, ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνείποι οὐέναι καὶ τὸ σημεῖον καθέλοι, τῷ αὐτῷ σημείῳ ἡ μὲν βουλὴ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἥσει, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφευγον, 10 δεδιότες εἶς ἔκαστος μὴ συλληφθείη.

Ἐπαρθεὶς³ οὖν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως κακοῖς εἰσαγγέλλει Διοκλείδης εἰς τὴν βουλήν, φάσκων εἰδέναι τοὺς περικόψαντας τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοὺς εἰς τριακοσίους· ὡς δ' ἔδοι καὶ περιτύχοι τῷ πράγματι, ἔλεγε. καὶ τούτοις, 15 ὁ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν ἀναμημνήσκεσθαι, ἐὰν ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ διδάσκειν ἀλλήλους· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ ἥσαν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ μοι ὑμεῖς τούτων μάρτυρες ἔστε. ἔφη γὰρ εἶναι μὲν ἀνδράποδόν οἱ ἐπὶ Λαυρίῳ,⁴ δεῖν δὲ κομίσασθαι⁵ ἀποφοράν.⁶ ἀναστὰς 20 δὲ πρῷ⁷ ψευσθεὶς τῆς ὥρας βαδίζειν· εἶναι δὲ πανσέληνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ προπύλαιον⁸ τὸ Διονύσου ἥν, ὅραν ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὡδείου⁹ καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὴν ὁρχήστραν· δείσας δὲ αὐτούς, εἰσελθὼν ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν¹⁰ καθέζεσθαι μεταξὺ τοῦ κίονος¹¹ καὶ τῆς

¹ ζητητῶν, *board of inquiry.* ² ἐπιζητεῖν, *to make further search.*

³ ἐπαρθεὶς, *roused, excited.* ⁴ Λαυρίῳ, *Laurium, in Attica, where there were silver mines.* ⁵ κομίσασθαι, *to fetch, go for.* ⁶ ἀποφοράν, *money due, i.e. from the slave's labor.* ⁷ πρῷ, *early.* ⁸ τὸ προπύλαιον, *the gateway, i.e. of the precinct of Dionysus.* ⁹ ὡδείου, *the Odeum, a building erected by Pericles, east of the theatre.* ¹⁰ σκιάν, *shadow.* ¹¹ κίονος, *column.*

25 στήλης¹ ἐφ' ἥ ὁ στρατηγός ἐστιν ὁ χαλκοῦς. ὁρᾶν
 δὲ ἀνθρώπους τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν μάλιστα τριακοσίους,
 ἐστάναι δὲ κύκλῳ ἀνὰ² πέντε καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας, τοὺς
 δὲ ἀνὰ εἴκοσιν. ὁρῶν δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην
 τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν πλείστων γιγνώσκειν. καὶ πρῶτον
 30 μέν, ὡς ἄνδρες, τοῦθ' ὑπέθετο³ δεινότατον πρᾶγμα,
 οἷμαι, ὅπως ἐν ἐκείνῳ εἴη ὅντινα βούλοιτο Ἀθηναίων
 φάναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων εἶναι, ὅντινα δὲ μὴ βούλοιτο,
 λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ ἥν. ἵδων δὲ ταῦτ' ἔφη ἐπὶ Λαύριον
 35 ἴέναι, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀκούειν ὅτι οἱ Ἐρμαῖ εἶν
 περικεκομμένοι· γνῶναι οὖν εὐθὺς ὅτι τούτων εἴη τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν τὸ ἔργον. ἥκων δὲ εἰς ἀστυ ζητητάς τε ἥδη
 ἥρημένους καταλαμβάνειν⁴ καὶ μήνυτρα κεκηρυγμένα
 ἑκατὸν μνᾶς. ἵδων δὲ Εὔφημον τὸν Καλλίου τοῦ
 Τηλεκλέους ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ⁵ καθήμενον, ἀνα-
 40 γαγῶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον λέγειν ἅπερ ὑμῖν ἔγω
 εἴρηκα, ὡς ἴδοι ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ· οὐκον
 δέοιτο⁶ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα λαβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ
 παρ' ἡμῶν, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς ἔχειν φίλους. εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν
 Εὔφημον ὅτι καλῶς ποιήσειεν εἰπών, καὶ οὐν ἥκειν κελεῦ-
 45 σαί οἱ⁷ εἰς τὴν Λεωγόρου οἰκίαν, ‘ἴν’ ἐκεὶ συγγένη μετ’
 ἐμοῦ Ἀνδοκίδη καὶ ἑτέροις οἷς δεῖ.’ ἥκειν ἔφη τῇ
 ὑστεραίᾳ, καὶ δὴ κόπτειν τὴν θύραν· τὸν δὲ πατέρα
 τὸν ἐμὸν τυχεῖν ἐξιόντα, καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ· Ἡπάρα γε σὲ
 οἴδε περιμένουσι; χρὴ μέντοι μὴ ἀπωθεῖσθαι⁸ τοιούτους
 50 φίλους· εἰπόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα οἴχεσθαι. καὶ τούτῳ

¹ στήλης, slab. ² ἀνά, in groups of. ³ τοῦθ' ὑπέθετο, etc., made this, an incredible affair, the basis of his evidence (Jebb). ⁴ καταλαμβάνειν, found. ⁵ χαλκείῳ, forge. ⁶ οὐκον δέοιτο, well then, he did not want. ⁷ οἱ, please, at his wish; ethical dat. ⁸ ἀπωθεῖσθαι, to reject.

μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν πατέρα μου ἀπώλλυε, συνειδότα
 ἀποφαίνων. εἰπεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς ὅτι δεδογμένοι ἡμῖν εἴη δύο
 μὲν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου διδόναι οἱ ἀντὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν μισθῶν
 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ἐὰν δὲ κατάσχωμεν¹ ἡμεῖς ἡ
 55 βουλόμεθα, ἔνα αὐτὸν ἡμῶν εἶναι, πίστιν δὲ τούτων
 δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι. ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ αὐτὸς
 πρὸς ταῦτα ὅτι βουλεύσοιτο. ἡμᾶς δὲ κελεύειν αὐτὸν
 ἥκειν εἰς Καλλίου τοῦ Τηλεκλέους, ἵνα κάκεῦνος
 παρείη. τὸν δ' αὖ κηδεστήν² μου οὕτως ἀπώλλυεν.
 60 ἥκειν ἔφη εἰς Καλλίου, καὶ καθομολογήσας ἡμῖν
 πίστιν δοῦναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, καὶ ἡμᾶς συνθεμένους
 οἱ τὸ ἀργύριον εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα³ μῆνα δώσειν διαφεύ-
 δεσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ διδόναι. ἥκειν οὖν μηνύσων τὰ γενόμενα.

A

After this, Pisander and Charicles got up and spoke as follows: "Men, we must⁴ not consider that these deeds are the work⁵ of a few men, but it is plain that they have been done⁶ for the overthrow of the democracy. So let us not 5 desist, but rather continue our search." And the whole city, hearing such words from men who were members of the board of investigators, was in a state of⁷ terror, and whenever the senate convened, every man fled to his house; for each thought he might be arrested.

10 At this crisis⁸ one Diocrides came forward, alleging that he knew who the perpetrators⁹ of this act of sacrilege were. "It was thus," he said, "that¹⁰ I fell in with them. I had

¹ κατάσχωμεν, get control of. ² κηδεστήν, kinsman. ³ ἐπιόντα, next.

⁴ Must, χρή. ⁵ The work, omit. ⁶ Have been done: avoid the passive of ποιῶ. ⁷ A state of, omit. ⁸ Crisis, καιρός. ⁹ Perpetrators, aor. partic. of δρῶ. ¹⁰ It was thus that, emphasize thus by position, not by a periphrasis.

to go to Laurium, and got up very early to set out. When I was near the propylaeum of Dionysus, I saw a number of 15 men entering the orchestra. It was full moon, and I recognized the faces of most of them.”

B

“After I had seen this I went my way,¹ and, on returning the next day, learned what had happened—that a board of investigators had already been appointed, and that the senate had proclaimed a reward of one hundred minae, if any one 5 would make known those who had done the deed. As I passed by I saw Euphemus sitting at his forge, and, calling him aside, I told him that I had seen him and the others in the orchestra the night before.² He bade me come with him to the house of Leogoras, to have an interview with 10 Andocides and others. This I did, and, as I knocked at the door, I met³ the father of Andocides coming out. He asked me if it was I they were expecting. It was clear, therefore, that he was one of them. These men told me that they 15 were ready to give me two talents, instead of the one hundred minae offered by the state, and that, if they should accomplish their ends, I should be one of them. In this, however, they deceived me; so I come to inform on them.”

¹ *My way*, omit. ² *The night before*, ἡ παρελθοῦσα νύξ. ³ *Met*, ἐντυγχάνω.

XIX

AN INHERITANCE CASE

Demosthenes, 48, 4 ff.

[Demosthenes, the greatest of the Greek orators, was born in 383 b.c. His father, a wealthy manufacturer of arms, died when Demosthenes was but seven years old, leaving his estate, valued at fifteen talents, to be administered by guardians. These men, through criminality or neglect, allowed the bulk of the estate to be wasted, and, while still a young man, Demosthenes must have seen that he would have to resort to legal proceedings if he was to recover even a portion of what was due him. He prepared himself for this task by studying under Isaeus, the great master of legal oratory. The story of his persistent efforts to overcome the defect of his weak voice is well known. His speeches against his guardian, Aphobus (delivered in 364) are still extant, but we do not know what the outcome of the suit was. Certain is it that, like Lysias and Isocrates, Demosthenes took up speech-writing as a profession. He was very successful, and many of these speeches have come down to us. His work as advocate and writer of speeches gradually led him to appear before the courts and the senate in cases involving public questions, and finally he became the leading orator before the popular assembly. In his many public harangues we can still follow the course of the internal and external politics of Athens, and see how clearly Demosthenes read the signs of the times, and with what an ardor of patriotism and what fiery

eloquence he sought to lead his countrymen to rouse themselves to resist Philip's aggressions, and to maintain, as their fathers had done, the cause of Greek freedom against a foreign foe. He was at last successful in persuading Athens and Thebes to lay aside their traditional hatred and jealousy and to unite in making a final stand at Chaeronea. Philip, however, was overwhelmingly victorious, and all hope of a successful resistance vanished. For some time after this Demosthenes appeared less prominently in public life, until in 324 he became involved in the Harpalus scandal. In connection with this he was accused of having accepted a bribe, and was condemned to pay the enormous fine of fifty talents. This he was unable to do, and was therefore imprisoned. He made his escape, however, and fled from Athens. In this matter there is no proof of his guilt, and his course throughout the whole affair makes strongly for the view that the charge against him was wholly malicious, as was also, likely enough, the oft-quoted charge of personal cowardice. After the death of Alexander, in 323, renewed opposition to the power of Macedon arose, and Demosthenes was publicly recalled from banishment. But the hopes of the patriots were vain; Athens was soon reduced, and Demosthenes, after flight, took poison.

We still possess sixty-one orations (including the letter of Philip), although a number of these are held to be spurious, besides fifty-six prooemia, or introductions, most of which are spurious, and six letters of doubtful authenticity.]

"Οτι μὲν οὖν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ μέτρια¹ καὶ προσήκοντα προυκαλούμην² Ὁλυμπιόδωρον, μεμαρτύρηται ὑπὸ τῶν παραγενομένων. οὐκ ἐθέλοντος δὲ τούτου οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν³ ποιεῖν τῶν δικαίων, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι

¹ μέτρια, *moderate terms.* ² προυκαλούμην, *offered.* ³ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, *anything whatsoever.*

πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν περὶ ὃν ἀδικοῦμαὶ ὑπὸ Ὀλυμπιόδωρον. ἔστι δὲ βραχὺς ὁ λόγος. ἦν γάρ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, Κόμων Ἀλαιεύς, οἰκεῖος ἡμέτερος. οὗτος ὁ Κόμων ἐτελεύτησεν ἀπαις ὀλίγον πάνυ χρόνον ἀρρωστήσας,¹ ἐβίω² δὲ πολλὰ ἔτη, καὶ ἦν πρεσβύτερος ὅτε³ ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπειδὴ ἡσθόμην ὅτι οὐχ οἶστος⁴ ἔσται περιγενέσθαι, μετεπεμψάμην τουτονὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρον, ὅπως ἀν παρῇ καὶ συνεπιμελῆται⁵ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀπάντων ὃν προσῆκεν. καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος οὗτοσί, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐπειδὴ ἥλθεν ὡς ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐμὴν δὲ γυναῖκα, μεθ' ἡμῶν ἄπαντα διώκει.⁶

Οὐτων δ' ἡμῶν περὶ ταύτην τὴν πραγματείαν,⁷ ἔξαιφνης λόγου μοι προσφέρει Ὀλυμπιόδωρος οὗτοσὶ ὅτι καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα εἴη τῷ Κόμωνι τῷ τετελευτηκότι, καὶ ὅτι δίκαιον εἴη καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ μέρος⁸ λαβεῖν ἀπάντων ὃν ὁ Κόμων κατέλιπεν. καὶ ἐγώ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, συνειδῶς ὅτι ἐψεύδετο καὶ ἀναισχυντεῖν⁹ ἐπεχείρει, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἦν ἄλλος τῷ Κόμωνι γένει ἐγγυτέρω ἐμοῦ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα ὡργίσθην¹⁰ καὶ ἡγανάκτησα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναισχυντίᾳ τοῦ λόγου, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐλογισάμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν,¹¹ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ¹² ὀργιζούμην, καὶ τούτῳ ἀπεκρινάμην ὅτι ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι προσῆκει θάπτειν¹³ τὸν τετελευτηκότα καὶ

¹ ἀρρωστήσας, *having been ill.* ² ἐβίω, *lived.* ³ περιγενέσθαι, *survive.*

⁴ συνεπιμελῆται μεθ' ἡμῶν, *join with us in curing for.* ⁵ διώκει, *administered.*

⁶ πραγματείαν, *business.* ⁷ τὸ μέρος, *his (due) share.*

⁸ ἀναισχυντεῖν, *brazen it out.* ⁹ ὡργίσθην, *got angry;* the following verb is a virtual synonym. ¹⁰ ἐλογισάμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν, *I reflected.*

¹¹ οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ, *at an inopportune time.* ¹² θάπτειν, *to bury.*

τᾶλλα ποιεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα,¹ ἐπειδὴν δὲ τούτων ἀπάν-
 30 των ἐπιμεληθῶμεν, τόθ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διαλεξόμεθα. καὶ
 οὗτος, ὁ ἄνδρες δικασταί, προσωμολόγησε ταῦτα καὶ
 καλῶς μ' ἔφη λέγειν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀπηλλάγημεν καὶ
 ἐποιήσαμεν ἄπαντα τὰ νομιζόμενα, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἥδη
 παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς οἰκείους ἄπαντας διελεγόμεθα
 35 ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς περὶ ὃν οὗτος ἤξιον² ἔαυτῷ εἶναι.

You have heard from these witnesses, gentlemen of the jury, how just and reasonable were the offers I made³ Olympiodorus; hear now from me the wrongs⁴ I have suffered at his hands. We had a relative named Comon, an old man,
 5 who died leaving no child. When he lay sick and it was plain⁵ that he would not survive, it seemed best to me to send for Olympiodorus, who was⁶ my wife's brother. He came, gentlemen, but, while helping⁷ me in settling matters, for Comon was now dead, suddenly said to me: "My mother
 10 also was related to this Comon, and I too must have my share
 of all his property."

Now I knew he was lying, and got as angry as could be at his shamelessness; nevertheless⁸ I said to him: "Olympiodorus, it is no time now to quarrel⁹ about this. Let us
 15 first bury the dead man, and then, when free from this business, we will call together our relatives and talk with one another about what you claim to be yours."

¹ τὰ νομιζόμενα, *things customary.* ² ἤξιον, *claimed.*

³ *Offers I made* = *things I offered.* ⁴ *The wrongs, οἴα.* ⁵ *Plain,* δῆλος; personal construction preferred. ⁶ *Who was* = *being.* ⁷ *Helping,* συν-, in composition. ⁸ *Nevertheless,* δημως. ⁹ *Quarrel,* ἀμφισβητῶ.

XX

A SOPHIST'S TEACHINGS

Plato, "Protagoras," 310 B ff.

[Plato came of noble Athenian stock, and was born in May, 427 B.C. His name was originally Aristocles—befitting his aristocratic birth—but he came to be called Plato, it is said, because of his broad shoulders. He was thoroughly trained in music (which, in the Greek sense, includes literature), so that he himself composed dithyrambs and tragedies, in gymnastic (he is even said to have been victorious as a wrestler in the Isthmian games), and also in painting. From his twentieth year he stood in close and intimate relations with Socrates until the latter's death in 399. Plato then left Athens, and, after spending some time with a group of philosophers at Megara, journeyed to Cyrene and possibly to Egypt. We also read of successive visits to Sicily, undertaken at the invitation of Dion, brother-in-law of the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius I., who sought to grace his court by inviting thither men noted in science and in art. Plato's first visit was probably in the year 388. He offended the tyrant, however, and tradition tells that he was given over to Pollis, the Spartan envoy, and sold as a slave in Aegina. He was, however, ransomed, and returned to Athens. After the death of Dionysius he again went to Sicily, hoping, but vainly, to guide his successor to a love of philosophy and good government. A third journey was undertaken seven years later, but this time Plato barely escaped with his life.

At Athens Plato purchased land near the precinct of the hero Academus, outside the city, and founded there his

school, the Academy, about 387. There he taught and wrote until his death in 347 in his eighty-first year.

Plato was a man of study rather than of action, and indeed his aristocratic birth and his own political ideals precluded any desire on his part to hold office in democratic Athens, while the wanton doings of the Thirty had alienated him from the oligarchs. As, however, his early manhood fell in a period when Athens was at war, we must think of him as serving in more than one engagement, although, in regard to this, tradition is both vague and not wholly trustworthy.

Plato's philosophy was shaped largely by the great teacher whom he so loved and revered, but he was influenced also by other schools—the Eleatics in Megara and the Pythagoreans on his Sicilian journeys. His works are mainly in the form of dialogues, in which Socrates is the chief speaker, and his inimitable art in arranging the setting of the piece and in the characterization of the participants shows at once his love of drama and his own dramatic talent. His favorite books are said to have been the comedies of Epicharmus and the mimes of Sophron.

We still have forty-two dialogues, but the genuineness of some has been called into question. Further, there are thirteen questionable letters, and a number of “definitions.”]

Τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ταυτησί, ἔτι βαθέος ὥρθρου,¹ Ἰπποκράτης ὁ Ἀπολλοδώρου νίος, Φάσωνος δὲ ἀδελφός, τὴν θύραν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ² πάνυ σφόδρα ἔκρουε,³ καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἀνέῳξε τις, εὐθὺς εἰσω γῆει⁵ ἐπειγόμενος,⁴ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ μέγα λέγων, ⁷Ω Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ἐγρήγορας⁵ ἦ καθεύδεις; καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν φωνὴν

¹ βαθέος ὥρθρου, *early dawn.* ² βακτηρίᾳ, *staff, cane.* ³ ἔκρουε, *pounded.* ⁴ ἐπειγόμενος, *with a rush.* ⁵ ἐγρήγορας, *are you awake?*

γνοὺς αὐτοῦ, Ἰπποκράτης, ἔφην, οὗτος· μή τι νεώτερον ἀγγέλλεις; Οὐδέν γ', ἡ δ' ὅς;¹ εἰ μὴ ἀγαθά γε. Εὖ ἀν λέγοις, ἥν δ' ἔγώ· ἔστι δὲ τί, καὶ τοῦ ἔνεκα
 10 τηνικάδε² ἀφίκου; Πρωταγόρας, ἔφη, ἥκει, στὰς παρ'
 ἐμοί. Πρώην,³ ἔφην ἔγώ· σὺ δὲ ἄρτι⁴ πέπυσαι;
 Νὴ τοὺς θεούς, ἔφη, ἐσπέρας γε. καὶ ἅμα ἐπιψηλαφήσας⁵ τοῦ σκίμποδος⁶ ἐκαθέζετο παρὰ τοὺς πόδας
 μου, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐσπέρας δῆτα, μάλα γε ὅψε ἀφικόμενος
 15 ἐξ Οἰνόης. ὁ γάρ τοι παῖς με ὁ Σάτυρος ἀπέδρα·
 καὶ δῆτα μέλλων σοι φράζειν, ὅτι διωξούμην αὐτόν,
 ὑπό τινος ἄλλου ἐπελαθόμην.⁷ ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἥλθον καὶ
 δεδειπνηκότες ἥμεν καὶ ἐμέλλομεν ἀναπαύεσθαι, τότε
 μοι ἀδελφὸς λέγει, ὅτι ἥκει Πρωταγόρας. καὶ ἔτι μὲν
 20 ἐνεχείρησα⁸ εὐθὺς παρὰ σὲ ἰέναι, ἐπειτά μοι λίαν
 πόρρω⁹ ἔδοξε τῶν νυκτῶν εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστά με
 ἐκ τοῦ κόπου¹⁰ ὁ ὑπνος ἀνῆκεν, εὐθὺς ἀναστὰς οὗτο
 δεῦρο ἐπορευόμην. καὶ ἔγὼ γιγνώσκων αὐτοῦ τὴν
 ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν πτοίησιν,¹¹ Τί οὖν σοι, ἥν δ' ἔγώ,
 25 τοῦτο; μῶν τί σε ἀδικεῖ Πρωταγόρας; καὶ ὃς γελάσας.
 Νὴ τοὺς θεούς, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὅτι γε μόνος ἐστὶ
 σοφός, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ ποιεῖ. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφην ἔγώ,
 ἀν αὐτῷ διδῷς ἀργύριον καὶ πείθης ἐκεῖνον, ποιήσει
 καὶ σὲ σοφόν. Εἰ γάρ, ἡ δ' ὅς, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, ἐν
 30 τούτῳ εἴη· ὡς οὗτος ἀν τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιλίποιμι¹² οὐδὲν οὔτε
 τῶν φίλων· ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἥκω παρὰ σέ,
 ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διαλεχθῆς αὐτῷ. ἔγὼ γὰρ ἅμα μὲν καὶ

¹ ἡ δ' ὅς, said he. ² τηνικάδε, at this hour. ³ πρώην, day-before-yesterday. ⁴ ἄρτι, just now. ⁵ ἐπιψηλαφήσας, groping for. ⁶ σκίμποδος, stool. ⁷ ἐπελαθόμην, I forgot it. ⁸ ἐνεχείρησα, undertook. ⁹ πόρρω, far along in, here, late. ¹⁰ κόπου, weariness. ¹¹ πτοίησιν, excitement. ¹² ἐπιλίποιμι, leave over, i.e. unspent.

νεώτερός είμι, ἅμα δὲ οὐδὲ ἔώρακα Πρωταγόραι πώποτε οὐδ' ἀκήκοα οὐδέν· ἔτι γὰρ παῖς ἦ, ὅτε τὸ 35 πρότερον ἐπεδήμησεν.¹ ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὁ Σώκρατες, πάντες τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ φασι σοφώτατον εἶναι λέγειν· ἀλλὰ τί οὐ βαδίζομεν παρ' αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔνδον καταλάβωμεν; καταλύει² δ', ὡς ἐγὼ ἥκουσα, παρὰ Καλλίᾳ τῷ Ἰππονίκου· ἀλλ' ἵωμεν. καὶ ἐγὼ 40 εἶπον· Μήπω γ', ὁ γαθέ, πρῷ γάρ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δεῦρο ἐξαναστῶμεν εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ περιώντες αὐτοῦ διατρύψωμεν, ἔως ἂν φῶς γένηται· εἶτα ἵωμεν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ Πρωταγόρας ἔνδον διατρίβει, ὥστε, θάρρει, καταληφόμεθα αὐτόν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,³ ἔνδον.

45 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστάντες εἰς τὴν αὐλήν περιῆμεν· καὶ ἐγὼ ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἰπποκράτους τῆς ρώμης⁴ διεσκόπουν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡρώτων, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὁ Ἰππόκρατες, παρὰ Πρωταγόραν νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖς ἵναι, ἀργύριον τελῶν ἐκείνῳ μισθὸν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ, ὡς παρὰ 50 τίνα ἀφιξόμενος καὶ τίς γενησόμενος; ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐπενόεις⁵ παρὰ τὸν σαυτοῦ ὅμωνυμον⁶ ἐλθὼν Ἰπποκράτη τὸν Κῷον,⁷ τὸν τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν, ἀργύριον τελεῖν ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ μισθὸν ἐκείνῳ, εἰ τίς σε ἥρετο, Εἰπέ μοι, μέλλεις τελεῖν, ὁ Ἰππόκρατες, Ἰπποκράτει μισθὸν ὡς 55 τίνι ὅντι; τί ἂν ἀπεκρίνω; Εἶπον ἀν., ἔφη, ὅτι ὡς ἵατρῷ. ‘Ως τίς γενησόμενος; ‘Ως ἵατρός, ἔφη. Εἰ δὲ παρὰ Πολύκλειτον τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἦ Φειδίαν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπενόεις ἀφικόμενος μισθὸν ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ τελεῖν ἐκείνοις,

¹ ἐπεδήμησεν, was in town. ² καταλύει, is lodging. ³ ὡς τὸ εἰκός, in all probability. ⁴ ρώμης, earnestness, resolution. ⁵ ἐπενόεις, purposed. ⁶ ὅμωνυμον, namesake. ⁷ Ἰπποκράτη τὸν Κῷον, Hippocrates of Cos, the famous physician and writer on medicine.

εἰ τίς σε ἥρετο· τελεῦν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον ὡς τίνι ὅντι
 60 ἐν νῷ ἔχεις Πολυκλείτῳ τε καὶ Φειδίᾳ; τί ἀν ἀπεκρίνω;
 Εἶπον ἀν ὡς ἀγαλματοποιοῖς.¹ Ὡς τίς δὲ γενησόμενος
 αὐτός; Δῆλον ὅτι ἀγαλματοποιός. Εἶν, ἦν δ' ἔγω·
 παρὰ δὲ δὴ Πρωταγόραν νῦν ἀφικόμενοι ἔγώ τε καὶ
 σὺ ἀργύριον ἐκείνῳ μισθὸν ἔτοιμοι ἐσόμεθα τελεῦν ὑπὲρ
 65 σοῦ, ἀν μὲν ἔξικνῆται² τὰ ἡμέτερα χρήματα καὶ τού-
 τοις πείθωμεν αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων προσ-
 αναλίσκοντες. εἰ οὖν τις ἡμᾶς περὶ ταῦτα οὕτω
 σφόδρα σπουδάζοντας³ ἔροιτο· εἰπέ μοι, ὁ Σώκρατές
 τε καὶ Ἰππόκρατες, ὡς τίνι ὅντι τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ ἐν νῷ
 70 ἔχετε χρήματα τελεῖν; τί ἀν αὐτῷ ἀποκριναίμεθα; τί
 ὅνομα ἄλλο γε λεγόμενον περὶ Πρωταγόρου ἀκούομεν,
 ὥσπερ περὶ Φειδίου ἀγαλματοποιὸν καὶ περὶ Ὁμῆρου
 ποιητήν; τί τοιοῦτον περὶ Πρωταγόρου ἀκούομεν;
 75 Σοφιστὴν δή τοι ὀνομάζουσί γε, ὁ Σώκρατες, τὸν
 ἄνδρα εἶναι, ἔφη. Ὡς σοφιστῇ ἄρα ἐρχόμεθα τελοῦν-
 τες τὰ χρήματα; Μάλιστα. Εἰ οὖν καὶ τοῦτό τίς σε
 προσέροιτο· αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ ὡς τίς γενησόμενος ἔρχει παρὰ
 τὸν Πρωταγόραν; καὶ ὃς εἰπεν ἐρυθριάσας⁴ — ἥδη
 γὰρ ὑπέφαινε τι ἡμέρας, ὥστε καταφανῆ αὐτὸν γενέ-
 80 σθαι — Εἰ μέν τι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἔσικε, δῆλον ὅτι σοφι-
 στὴς γενησόμενος. Σὺ δέ, ἦν δ' ἔγω, πρὸς θεῶν,
 οὐκ ἀν αἰσχύνοιο εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας αὐτὸν σοφιστὴν
 παρέχων; Νὴ τὸν Δία, ὁ Σώκρατες, εἰπερ γε ἀ δια-
 νοοῦμαι χρὴ λέγειν. Ἀλλ' ἄρα, ὁ Ἰππόκρατες, μὴ
 85 οὐ τοιαύτην ὑπολαμβάνεις⁵ σου τὴν παρὰ Πρωταγόρου

¹ ἀγαλματοποιοῖς, *sculptors*; lit., *makers of images*. ² ἔξικνῆται, *suffices*. ³ σπουδάζοντας, *in earnest*. ⁴ ἐρυθριάσας, *with a blush*. ⁵ ὑπο-
 λαμβάνεις, *suppose*.

μάθησιν ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἴα παρὰ τοῦ γραμματιστοῦ¹ ἔγένετο καὶ κιθαριστοῦ² καὶ παιδοτρίβου;³ τούτων γὰρ σὺ ἔκάστην οὐκ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ⁴ ἔμαθες, ὡς δημιουργὸς ἐσόμενος,⁵ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ,⁶ ὡς τὸν ἴδιωτην⁷ καὶ τὸν ἐλεύθερον πρέπει. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, τοιαύτη μᾶλλον εἶναι ἡ παρὰ Πρωταγόρου μάθησις.

Οἶσθα οὖν ὃ μέλλεις νῦν πράττειν, ἢ σε λανθάνει; ἦν δ' ἔγώ. Τοῦ πέρι; Ὁτι μέλλεις τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σαυτοῦ παρασχεῖν θεραπεῦσαι⁸ ἀνδρί, ὡς φῆς, σοφιστῇ· ὃ τι δέ ποτε ὃ σοφιστής ἔστι, θαυμάζοιμ' ἀν εἰ οἶσθα. καίτοι εἰ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖς,⁹ οὐδὲ ὅτῳ παραδίδως τὴν ψυχὴν οἶσθα, οὗτ' εἰ ἀγαθῷ οὗτ' εἰ κακῷ πράγματι. Οἶμαι γ', ἔφη, εἰδέναι. Λέγε δή, τί ἡγεῖ εἶναι τὸν σοφιστήν; Ἐγὼ μέν, ἦ δ' ὅς, ὡσπερ τοῦνομα λέγει, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τῶν σοφῶν ἐπιστήμονα.¹⁰ Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, τοῦτο μὲν ἔξεστι λέγειν καὶ περὶ ζωγράφων¹¹ καὶ περὶ τεκτόνων,¹² ὅτι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τῶν σοφῶν ἐπιστήμονες· ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἔροιτο ἡμᾶς, τῶν τί σοφῶν¹³ εἰσὶν οἱ ζωγράφοι ἐπιστήμονες, εἴποιμεν ἀν που αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπεργασίαν¹⁴ τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων,¹⁵ καὶ τᾶλλα οὗτως. εἰ δέ τις ἐκεῖνο ἔροιτο, δέ σοφιστὴς τῶν τί σοφῶν ἔστι; τί ἀν ἀποκρινούμεθα αὐτῷ; ποίας ἔργασίας ἐπιστάτης; Τί ἀν εἴποιμεν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὦ Σώ-

¹ γραμματιστοῦ, *teacher of letters*. ² κιθαριστοῦ, *teacher of music (harp-playing)*. ³ παιδοτρίβου, *teacher of gymnastics*. ⁴ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ, *professionally*. ⁵ ὡς δημιουργὸς ἐσόμενος, *with a view to practising it*. ⁶ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ, *for culture*. ⁷ ἴδιωτην, *non-professional man*. ⁸ θεραπεῦσαι, *to care for*. ⁹ ἀγνοεῖς, *are ignorant of*. ¹⁰ ἐπιστήμονα, *versed in, skilled in*. ¹¹ ζωγράφων, *painters, artists*. ¹² τεκτόνων, *builders*. ¹³ τῶν τι σοφῶν, *what sort of clever things?* ¹⁴ ἀπεργασίαν, *the working out, representing*. ¹⁵ εἰκόνων, *images, figures*.

κρατεῖ, ἡ ἐπιστάτην τοῦ ποιῆσαι δεινὸν λέγειν; ⁷ Ισως
 110 ἄν, ἥν δ' ἐγώ, ἀληθῆ λέγοιμεν, οὐ μέντοι ἱκανῶς γε·
 ἐρωτήσεως γὰρ ἔτι ἡ ἀπόκρισις ἡμῖν δεῖται, περὶ
 ὅτου ὁ σοφιστὴς δεινὸν ποιεῖ λέγειν· ὥσπερ ὁ κιθα-
 ριστὴς δεινὸν δήπου ποιεῖ λέγειν περὶ οὐπερ καὶ ἐπι-
 στήμονα, περὶ κιθαρίσεως· ἥ γάρ: ¹ Ναί. ² Εἰεν. ³ ὁ δὲ
 115 δὴ σοφιστὴς περὶ τίνος δεινὸν ποιεῖ λέγειν; ἡ δῆλον
 ὅτι περὶ οὐπερ καὶ ἐπίσταται; Εἴκος γε. Τί δὴ ἐστι
 τοῦτο, περὶ οὗ αὐτός γε ἐπιστήμων ἐστὶν ὁ σοφιστὴς
 καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν ποιεῖ; Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκέτι ἔχω σοι
 λέγειν.

120 Καὶ ἐγὼ εἰπον μετὰ τοῦτο· Τί οὖν; οἶσθα εἰς οἶόν
 τινα κίνδυνον ἔρχει ὑποθήσων⁴ τὴν ψυχήν; ἡ εἰ μὲν τὸ
 σῶμα ἐπιτρέπειν σε ἔδει τῷ, διακινδυνεύοντα ἡ χρη-
 στὸν⁵ αὐτὸ γενέσθαι ἥ πονηρόν, πολλὰ ἀν περιεσκέψω,
 εἴτ' ἐπιτρεπτέον εἴτε οὐ, καὶ εἰς συμβουλὴν τούς τε
 125 φίλους ἀν παρεκάλεις καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, σκοπούμενος
 ἡμέρας συχνάς⁶ ὁ δὲ περὶ πλείονος τοῦ σώματος ἡγεῖ,
 τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ ἐν ὦ πάντ⁷ ἐστὶ τὰ σὰ ἡ εὖ ἡ κακῶς
 πράττειν, χρηστὸν ἥ πονηροῦ αὐτοῦ γενομένου, περὶ δὲ
 τούτου οὔτε τῷ πατρὶ οὔτε τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπεκοινώσω⁸
 130 οὔτε ἡμῶν τῶν ἔταιρων οὐδενί. εἴτ' ἐπιτρεπτέον εἴτε καὶ
 οὐ τῷ ἀφικομένῳ τούτῳ ξένῳ τὴν σὴν ψυχήν, ἀλλ'
 ἐσπέρας ἀκούσας, ὡς φῆς, ὅρθριος⁹ ἥκων περὶ μὲν
 τούτου οὐδένα λόγον οὐδὲ συμβουλὴν ποιεῖ, εἴτε χρὴ
 ἐπιτρέπειν σαυτὸν αὐτῷ εἴτε μή, ἔτοιμος δ' εἰ ἀναλίσκειν
 135 τά τε σαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων χρήματα, ὡς ἥδη

¹ ἥ γάρ; is it not so? ² ναί, yes. ³ εἰεν, well then. ⁴ ὑποθήσων, to submit. ⁵ χρηστὸν, good. ⁶ συχνάς, many. ⁷ ἐπεκοινώσω, communicated, consulted. ⁸ ὅρθριος, at early dawn.

διεγνωκώς,¹ ὅτι πάντως συνεστέον² Πρωταγόρᾳ, ὃν
οὔτε γιγνώσκεις, ὡς φήσ, οὔτε διείλεξαι οὐδεπάποτε,
σοφιστὴν δ' ὄνομάζεις, τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν, ὃ τί ποτε
ἔστι, φαίνει ἀγνοῶν, ὡς μέλλεις σαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν;
140 καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας, ⁷Εοικεν, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἐξ ὧν σὺ
λέγεις. ⁸Αρ' οὖν, ὁ ⁹Ιππόκρατες, ὁ σοφιστὴς τυγχάνει
ῶν ἔμπορός³ τις ἡ κάπηλος⁴ τῶν ἀγωγίμων,⁵ ἀφ' ὧν
ψυχὴ τρέφεται; Φαίνεται γὰρ ἔμοιγε τοιοῦτος τις·
τρέφεται δέ, ὁ Σώκρατες, ψυχὴ τίνι; Μαθήμασι⁶ δήπου,
145 ἦν δ' ἔγώ. καὶ ὅπως γε μή, ὁ ἑταῖρε, ὁ σοφιστὴς
ἐπαινῶν ἀ πωλεῖ⁷ ἐξαπατήσῃ ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ οἱ περὶ τὴν
τοῦ σώματος τροφήν, ὁ ἔμπορός τε καὶ κάπηλος. καὶ
γὰρ οὗτοί που ὧν ἄγουσιν ἀγωγίμων οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἵσασιν
ὅ τι χρηστὸν ἡ πονηρὸν περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ
150 πάντα πωλοῦντες, οὔτε οἱ ὀνούμενοι⁸ παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐὰν
μή τις τύχῃ γυμναστικὸς ἡ ἱατρὸς ὡν. οὔτω δὲ καὶ οἱ
τὰ μαθήματα περιάγοντες κατὰ τὰς πόλεις καὶ πωλοῦν-
τες καὶ καπηλεύοντες τῷ ἀεὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντι ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν
πάντα ἀ πωλοῦσι, τάχα⁹ δ' ἄν τινες, ὁ ἄριστε, καὶ
155 τούτων ἀγνοοῦσιν ὧν πωλοῦσιν ὅ τι χρηστὸν ἡ πονηρὸν
πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν· ὡς δ' αὐτῶς¹⁰ καὶ οἱ ὀνούμενοι παρ'
αὐτῶν, ἐὰν μή τις τύχῃ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὖ ἱατρικὸς
ών. εἰ μὲν οὖν σὺ τυγχάνεις ἐπιστήμων τούτων τί χρη-
στὸν καὶ πονηρόν, ἀσφαλές σοι ὀνεῖσθαι μαθήματα
160 καὶ παρὰ Πρωταγόρου καὶ παρ' ἄλλου ὄτουοῦν· εἰ δὲ
μή, ὅρα, ὁ μακάριε, μὴ περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις κυβεύης¹¹

¹ διεγνωκώς, *having decided*. ² συνεστέον, *must study under*. ³ ἔμπο-
ρος, *merchant*. ⁴ κάπηλος, *vender, huckster*. ⁵ ἀγωγίμων, *wares*.
6 μαθήμασι, *teachings*. ⁷ πωλεῖ, *sells*. ⁸ ὀνούμενοι, *buying*. ⁹ τάχα, *very*
likely. ¹⁰ ὡς δ' αὐτῶς, *just so*. ¹¹ κυβεύης, *throw dice*.

τε καὶ κινδυνεύης. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολὺ μείζων κίνδυνος
 ἐν τῇ τῶν μαθημάτων ὡνῆ¹ ἡ ἐν τῇ τῶν σιτίων. σιτία
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ποτὰ πριάμενον² παρά του ἔξεστιν ἐν
 165 ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις³ ἀποφέρειν, καὶ πρὶν δέξασθαι αὐτὰ
 εἰς τὸ σῶμα πιόντα ἡ φαγόντα, καταθέμενον οἴκαδε
 ἔξεστι συμβουλεύσασθαι, παρακαλέσαντα τὸν ἐπαί-
 οντα,⁴ ὃ τι τε ἐδεστέον⁵ ἡ ποτέον⁶ καὶ ὃ τι μή, καὶ
 ὅπόσον καὶ ὅπότε· ὥστε ἐν τῇ ὡνῇ οὐ μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος.
 170 μαθήματα δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἀγγείῳ ἀπενεγκεῖν,
 ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη, καταθέντα τὴν τιμήν,⁷ τὸ μάθημα ἐν
 αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ λαβόντα καὶ μαθόντα ἀπιέναι ἡ βε-
 βλαμμένον ἡ ὠφελημένον. ταῦτα οὖν σκοπώμεθα καὶ
 μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔτι νέοι ὥστε
 175 τοσοῦτο πρᾶγμα διελέσθαι.⁸ οὐν μέντοι, ὥσπερ ὁρ-
 μήσαμεν, ἵωμεν καὶ ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐπειτα
 ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνακοινωσώμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐ
 μόνος Πρωταγόρας αὐτόθι ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰππίας ὁ
 Ἡλεῖος· οἵμαι δὲ καὶ Πρόδικον τὸν Κείον· καὶ ἄλλοι
 180 πολλοὶ καὶ σοφοί.

Δόξαν ἡμῖν ταῦτα⁹ ἐπορευόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τῷ
 προθύρῳ¹⁰ ἐγενόμεθα, ἐπιστάντες περὶ τινος λόγου διε-
 λεγόμεθα, ὃς ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνέπεσεν· ἵν’ οὖν μὴ
 ἀτελῆς¹¹ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ διαπερανάμενοι¹² οὗτως ἐσίοιμεν,
 185 στάντες ἐν τῷ πρωθύρῳ διελεγόμεθα, ἔως συνωμολογή-
 σαμεν ἄλλήλοις· δοκεῖ οὖν μοι, ὁ θυρωρός,¹³ εὐνοῦχός

¹ ὡνῆ, *purchase*. ² πριάμενον, *when one buys*. ³ ἀγγείοις, *vessels*.

⁴ τὸν ἐπαίοντα, *the one who knows*. ⁵ ἐδεστέον, *to be eaten*. ⁶ ποτέον, *to be drunk*. ⁷ τιμήν, *price*. ⁸ διελέσθαι, *to unravel, settle*. ⁹ δόξαν . . . ταῦτα, *acc. abs., when this was decided on*. ¹⁰ προθύρῳ, *vestibule*. ¹¹ ἀτελῆς, *unfinished*. ¹² διαπερανάμενοι, *having brought it to a conclusion*. ¹³ θυρωρός, *porter*.

τις, κατήκουεν ἡμῶν, κινδυνεύει¹ δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σοφιστῶν ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς φοιτῶσιν² εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ἐκρούσαμεν τὴν θύραν, ἀνοίξας καὶ ἴδων 190 ἡμᾶς, "Εα,³ ἔφη, σοφισταί τινες· οὐ σχολὴ αὐτῷ· καὶ ἄμα ἀμφοῦ τοῦ χεροῦ τὴν θύραν πάνυ προθύμως ὡς οἴος τ' ἦν ἐπήραξε.⁴ καὶ ἡμεῖς πάλιν ἐκρούσμεν, καὶ δῆς ἐγκεκλειμένης τῆς θύρας ἀποκρινόμενος εἶπεν, ⁵Ω ἄνθρωποι, ἔφη, οὐκ ἀκηκόατε, ὅτι οὐ σχολὴ αὐτῷ;
195 'Αλλ' ὁ γαθέ, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὗτε παρὰ Καλλίαν ἥκομεν οὗτε σοφισταί ἐσμεν· ἀλλὰ θάρρει. Πρωταγόραν γάρ τοι δεόμενοι ἰδεῖν ἥλθομεν· εἰσάγγειλον⁵ οὖν. μόγις⁶ οὖν ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἄνθρωπος ἀνέῳξε τὴν θύραν·

A.

While it was still early dawn Hippocrates came to my house and pounded on the door with his stick until some one opened to him, and then rushed in calling aloud: "Socrates, have you heard? He has come." I knew it was Hippocrates, for I recognized his voice, and answered: "Who has come? Why in the world do you wake me up at this hour?" "Protagoras," he said. "Yes," I answered, "day before yesterday; but I was afraid you brought some bad news." "I think it good news," said he. "I heard that he was here 10 late last evening, when I got back from Oenoe; for I forgot to tell you that my slave Satyrus had run away, and that I should go after him. I was going to come to you then, but it was too late. I came, however, as soon as I awoke; so here I am."

15 At this I saw how much in earnest⁷ he was, and asked

¹ κινδυνεύει, *it may well be that.* ² τοῖς φοιτῶσιν, *those who came (regularly).* ³ Εα, *but!* ⁴ ἐπήραξε, *slammed.* ⁵ εἰσάγγειλον, *announce us.* ⁶ μόγις, *reluctantly.*

⁷ *In earnest*, *use σπουδάζω.*

him whether Protagoras had done him any wrong, and the boy answered: "Yes, because he doesn't make me as wise as he is."

B.

When I told him that if he would offer Protagoras money, he would gladly undertake¹ to make him wise, Hippocrates answered: "If it depends upon² this, I shall become wise; for I shall leave unspent none of my own money and 5 none of my friends' either. But I want you to speak to him for me, for I am but a boy, and they call him the wisest of men. Come, let us go at once to his house, that we may find him in."

Hearing this I said: "Take heart, Hippocrates; we shall 10 find him in. A sophist, you know, spends most of his time indoors. But let us walk about here in the court, and talk together at least until it gets light."

So I got up, and we walked about; and, wishing to test the boy, I said: "Tell me, Hippocrates. Who is Protagoras³ 15 that you wish to pay him money? and what do you expect to become⁴ yourself? If you were going to Hippocrates of Cos, and I asked you this, you would say that he was a physician, and that you expected to become a physician yourself, would you not? Well then, tell me, Who is Protagoras?"

C.

"Or, if we were going to Phidias or Polyclitus to pay them money on your behalf, and some one should ask us why we did this, we should, I suppose, answer that we were going to pay them money because they are⁵ sculptors, and with 5 the expectation of becoming sculptors ourselves. But, as it

¹ Undertake, *ἐπιχειρῶ*. ² Depends upon = is in; ³ Who is Protagoras: recast the sentence, as in the text. ⁴ Expect to become, *ὡς* with fut. partic.

⁵ Because they are = as being.

is,¹ you are going to Protagoras, and, if your own money does not suffice, you are going to pay him your friends' money as well. Suppose,² now, some one, seeing how in earnest you are, should ask you this same question, what would you say?
 10 Do people call Protagoras anything else, just as they call Hippocrates a physician, and Phidias and Polyclitus sculptors?" "They call him a sophist, Socrates," answered he. "What!" said I, "Are you going to pay him money because he is³ a sophist? And what do you expect to become your-
 15 self?" "A sophist, I suppose," he answered, with a blush, "if this case be like the others."

D.

"Well, Hippocrates," said I, "you would be ashamed if men should call you a sophist; so let us look at⁴ the matter in another light.⁵ When you went to⁶ your teacher of letters, or of harp-playing, or of gymnastic, you did not study 5 professionally, but for culture; so let us say that your instruction from Protagoras is of this sort. But, if you really are going to intrust your soul to the care of a sophist,⁷ tell me what you think a sophist is." "Why,⁸ Socrates," he said, "his very name tells that he is one versed in clever things."
 10 "Yes," I answered, "but so are painters, for instance,⁹ and, if I should ask you, in what sort of¹⁰ clever things, you could easily tell me. But what would you say about the sophist?" "I suppose, Socrates," said he, "that he is skilled in making men clever speakers." "Good," said I, "but about what?
 15 For every one can teach another to speak about the things he himself understands." "I do not know what to say," answered the boy.

¹ As it is, νῦν. ² Suppose, condit. sent. ³ Because he is: put at the head of the sentence.

⁴ Look at, σκοπέω. ⁵ In another light, ἀλλως πως. ⁶ Went to, φοιτῶ παρά. ⁷ To the care of a sophist = to a sophist, to care for. ⁸ Why, ἀλλά. ⁹ For instance, αὐτίκα. ¹⁰ What sort of, imitate the text.

E.

Socrates then asked the boy if he knew into what danger he was going in wishing thus to intrust himself to this stranger who had come. "For," said he, "if you were going to intrust your body to the care of somebody, you would 5 yourself deliberate long,¹ and would ask my advice;² but, as it is, in regard to your soul, you do not even consult your father, but seem to³ consider that you must in any case study under⁴ Protagoras, a sophist, although it is clear⁵ that you don't know what a sophist is. And yet the soul is of far 10 more value than the body, and you ought to have deliberated long."⁶

When the boy had admitted that this was so, Socrates said: "Well, let us call the sophist a vender of wares by which the soul is nourished. And these wares are teachings, 15 are they not? For the soul is nourished by things of this sort. Well then, the sophist will doubtless praise his wares, as do the hucksters, and we must look out⁶ that he does not deceive us."⁷

F.

"Now neither the hucksters nor those who buy know whether the wares are good or bad, but the sellers praise all alike,⁷ in order that men may buy. Will not the sophists then also praise their wares, as they peddle⁸ them in⁹ the 5 various¹⁰ cities? And see, concerning the others a doctor or a physical trainer can tell us whether or not we ought to buy, but who has knowledge concerning the wares of Protagoras and the other sophists? If you have not, it is not safe for

¹ Long, πολὺν χρόνον. ² Ask . . . advice, συμβουλεύομαι, with dat.

³ Seem to, φαίνομαι, with infin. ⁴ Study under, σύνειμι. ⁵ It is clear, δῆλος, in personal construction, followed by partic. ⁶ Look out . . . that not, εὐλαβοῦμαι μή.

⁷ Alike, ὁμολως. ⁸ Peddle, περιάγω. ⁹ In, κατά. ¹⁰ Various, ἔκαστος.

you to buy from him, for you would but be throwing dice
 10 with your soul at stake.¹ Furthermore,² if you buy pro-
 visions, you can take them home in a vessel, and before
 eating³ can consult one who knows. But in the purchase of
 the sophist's wares the danger is much greater; for you
 receive his teachings in your soul, and there is no time for
 15 deliberation, but you come away better, it may be,⁴ or worse.
 Let us then deliberate concerning these things, and consult
 with men older than we."

G.

"Now then let us go and consult with these men; for at Callias's house⁵ we shall find not Protagoras alone, but Hippias and Prodicus and others too, in all probability."

So they set out, and on the way fell to talking of some
 5 matter; and, when they reached the house, stood in the ves-
 tibule, in order that they might finish their discussion and
 not enter until⁶ they had reached an agreement. Now the
 porter happened to hear them, and, being vexed at the num-
 ber of those who came to the house, when he had opened the
 10 door and seen them, slammed it to again, saying, "He's
 busy," for he thought that they too were sophists. Socrates
 then knocked again,⁷ but the fellow would not⁸ even
 open, but called out: "I told you that he is busy." "But,
 fellow," said Socrates, "we are not sophists, nor do we wish
 15 to see⁹ Callias. We have come to talk with Protagoras.
 Come, announce us." Finally then the porter opened and
 they went in.

¹ With your soul at stake, *περὶ*, with dat. ² Furthermore, *ἔτι δέ*.

³ Before eating, *πρὶν φαγεῖν*. ⁴ It may be = as you may chance (*τυγχάνω*).

⁵ At Callias's house, *παρὰ Καλλίᾳ*. ⁶ Until, *πρὶν*, with opt., or
 imitate the text. ⁷ Again, *πάλιν*. ⁸ Would not, neg. with impf.

⁹ To see, *ἐντυγχάνω*.

XXI

MARATHON

Herodotus, 6, 111 ff.

[Herodotus, the “Father of History,” was born in Halicarnassus in Caria sometime, probably, between 490 and 480 B.C., although we have no very trustworthy tradition. He came of good family, and his parents were apparently wealthy. His uncle, or cousin, Panyasis, was an epic poet of note.

As a result of struggles between the tyrants of Halicarnassus and the popular party, Herodotus lost his father and was himself forced to flee to Samos; but he is said to have returned and to have joined in driving out the tyrant Lygdamis. Shortly after, however, he again left his country, never to return. We next hear of him in Athens, where in 445 he is said to have read publicly a portion of his history—possibly the last three books, which redound to the glory of Athens—and to have received from the state the large sum of ten talents. We know that he was the close friend of Sophocles, and we may safely assume that he spent much time at Athens in the company of Pericles, Sophocles, Phidias, Anaxagoras, and others of the great and wise men of his day. We are also told that he joined, when we do not know, the colony of Thurii in southern Italy, founded by Athens in 444; but he must often have visited Athens after this date.

In collecting materials for his history Herodotus travelled widely. Asia Minor, Greece proper, and southern

Italy he knew well; and he journeyed also as far as the northern coast of the Black Sea on the north, and as far as Cyrene and Egypt, even to the first cataract of the Nile, on the south. In the east he travelled as far as Babylon and Susa—no light undertaking in an age when travelling was at once a matter of great expense and no small danger.

The date of his death can not be given with certainty, but it was probably not later than 425. He certainly lived to see the Propylaea on the acropolis at Athens.

Besides his importance as an historian Herodotus was the creator of artistic prose. Before him were but barren chronicles, while the great charm of his style has been felt by all who have read him. As an historian his honesty has never been successfully called into question, and faulty as his understanding of facts is at times, and incomplete as were often the sources of his information, his efforts to get at the truth and to sift evidence are worthy of all praise, and his breadth of view is almost modern.

For the story of Marathon see *Grote*, *IV*, pp. 33 ff.; *Curtius* *II*, pp. 249 ff.; *Duruy*, *II*, *II*, pp. 409 ff.; *Cor.*, *I*, pp. 433 ff.; *Holm*, *II*, pp. 19 ff.; and *Abbott*, *II*, pp. 86 ff.]

Τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι. τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔξισούμενον¹ τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτη ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ 5 στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο² πλήθεϊ. ὡς δέ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλά, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπειθησαν³ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἥσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον⁴ αὐτῶν ἦ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες

¹ ἔξισούμενον, made equal. ² ἔρρωτο, had been strengthened.

³ ἀπειθησαν, were let go. ⁴ μεταίχμιον, space between (the armies).

10 δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίην¹
 τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην,²
 ὄρεοντες αὐτὸν δλίγους καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομέ-
 νους,³ οὕτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὕτε τοξευμάτων.
 ταῦτα μεν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον.⁴ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
 15 ἐπείτε ἀθρόοι⁵ προσέμειξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο
 ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν
 ἥμειν ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐσ πολεμίους ἔχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι
 δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά⁶ τε Μηδικὴν ὄρεοντες καὶ τοὺς
 ἄνδρας ταύτην ἡσθημένους.⁷ τέως⁸ δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι
 20 καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. μαχομένων
 δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ
 μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ
 Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάκατο. κατὰ τοῦτο
 μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ρήξαντες⁹ ἐδίωκον ἐσ
 25 τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι
 τε καὶ Πλαταιέες· νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν
 βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ρήξασι
 αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἀμφότερα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ
 ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἴποντο
 30 κόπτοντες, ἐσ δὲ ἐσ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε
 αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν
 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος¹⁰ Καλλίμαχος διαφθεί-
 ρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρα-
 τηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεως· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ
 35 Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων¹¹

¹ μανίην, *madness*. ² ὀλεθρίην, *ruin*. ³ ἐπειγομένους, *rushing*.

⁴ κατείκαζον, *guessed, thought*. ⁵ ἀθρόοι, *all together*. ⁶ ἐσθῆτα, *dress, garb*.

⁷ ἡσθημένους, *clad in*. ⁸ τέως, *up to this time*. ⁹ ρήξαντες, *breaking through*.

¹⁰ πολέμαρχος. *Polemarch*, title of one of the archons. ¹¹ ἀφλάστων, *stern-ornaments*.

νεός, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεὶς πελέκει¹ πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί. ἐπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε Ἀθηναῖοι· τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἔξανακρουσάμενοι,² καὶ ἀνα-
40 λαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἔξ Ἐρετρίης ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλεον Σούνιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐσ τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτίην δὲ ἔσχε³ Ἀθηναίοισι ἔξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι
45 Πέρσησι ἀναδέξαι⁴ ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσι ἥδη ἐν τῆσι νηυσί. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἰχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθουν ἐσ τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἦ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἔξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν
50 Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῆσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον⁵ τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες⁶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐσ τὴν
Ἀσίην.

A.

At Marathon the Athenians, few though they were,⁸ fought in a manner worth telling about. For they were the first of the Greeks who dared to look upon the Medes and did not fear their mere⁹ name. At Marathon then they arrayed themselves for battle (and with them¹⁰ there were a

¹ πελέκει, with an a.v.e. ² ἔξανακρουσάμενοι, pushing off from shore.

³ αἰτίην ἔσχε, suspicion prevailed. ⁴ ἀναδέξαι, raise as a signal. ⁵ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, when they were off Phalerum. ⁶ ἐπίνειον, port, harbor. ⁷ ἀνακωχεύσαντες, after letting their ships lie to.

⁸ Though they were, partic., with κατπερ. ⁹ Mere, κατ, simply.

¹⁰ With them, avoid σύν.

thousand Plataeans) and, as soon as¹ the omens were favorable, began to charge² upon the enemy on the run, for this was their custom.³ But the Persians, seeing that the distance⁴ between the armies was not less than eight stadia, and that the Athenians had neither cavalry nor bowmen, thought them crazy. Thus then they joined battle, and the Persians broke the Athenian centre, where their line was weakest—for they had made it equal to that of the Medes in length,⁵ so that it was but a few⁶ ranks deep⁷—but at⁸ either wing the Athenians were victorious.

B.

After this the Athenians, allowing the Persians they had routed to flee, gathered together and again attacked those in the centre. These too they routed, and pursued them to the sea, and then even⁹ laid hold of the ships and called for fire that they might burn¹⁰ them. Here it is said that one of the Athenians, a brother of the poet Aeschylus,¹¹ seized the stern of a ship and would not let go, but had his hand cut off with an axe.

In this way seven of the ships were taken, but with the rest the barbarians put to sea and sailed toward Athens. For it was their purpose¹² to sail around Sunium and capture the city while it was bare¹³ of defenders.¹⁴ But the Athenians outstripped them; for, seeing their plan,¹⁵ they too hastened to the city with all the speed they could, and when the Persians were off Phalerum they saw these same men again drawn up against them. So they sailed back to Asia.

¹ As soon as, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα. ² Charge . . . on the run, θεῦ δρόμῳ.

³ Custom, νόμος. ⁴ Distance between, τὸ μέσον, with gen. ⁵ In length, τὸ μῆκος. ⁶ But a few, omit but. ⁷ Deep, imitate the text. ⁸ At, κατά.

⁹ Even, κατ. ¹⁰ Burn, καίω. ¹¹ Aeschylus, Αἰσχύλος. ¹² Purpose, γνώμη. ¹³ Bare, κενός. ¹⁴ Defenders, οἱ ἀμύνοντες. ¹⁵ Plan, βουλή.

XXII

XERXES SCOURGES THE HELLESPONT

Herodotus (see p. 124), 7, 34 ff.

[See *Grote*, *IV*, pp. 129 ff.; *Curtius*, *II*, pp. 280 ff.; *Duruy*, *II*, *II*, pp. 437 ff.; *Cox*, *I*, pp. 459 ff.; *Holm*, *II*, pp. 40 ff.; and *Abbott*, *II*, pp. 121 ff.]

Ἐστι δὲ ἔπτὰ στάδιοι ἔξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον.¹ καὶ δὴ ἐζευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν μέγας συνέκοψε τε ἐκεῦνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε. ὡς δὲ ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος² τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε⁵ τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι³ πληγὰς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεῦγος.⁴ ἥδη δὲ ἥκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγέας⁵ ἄμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὡν ῥαπίζοντας⁶ λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα.⁷ Ὡ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης¹⁰ τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ⁸ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἥδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἦν τε σύ γε βούλη ἦν τε μή. σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὡς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ⁹ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ¹⁰ ποταμῷ. τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν¹⁵ ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ξημιοῦν,¹¹ καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ

¹ τὴν ἀπαντίον, *the opposite shore*. ³ δεινὰ ποιεύμενος, *counting it an outrage*. ³ ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι = μαστιγῶσαι, *scourge*, with acc. of inner obj. (cognate), πληγὰς. ⁴ ζεῦγος, *a pair*. ⁵ στιγέας, *branders*. ⁶ ῥαπίζοντας, *while scourging*. ⁷ ἀτάσθαλα, *andacious*. ⁸ ἐπιτιθεῖ = ἐπιτίθησι. ⁹ θολερῷ, *muddy*. ¹⁰ ἀλμυρῷ, *salt*. ¹¹ ξημιοῦν, *to punish*.

ζεύξι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλάς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον, τοῖσι προσέκειτο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή, τὰς¹ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐζεύγνυσαν.

When those who had been bidden² had bridged the Hellespont—and the width³ is seven stadia—there came a great storm and broke up the bridge, so that it seemed that the gods themselves did not wish Xerxes to cross. But the king,
 5 hearing of this, counted it an outrage, and in anger⁴ is said to have ordered men to scourge the Hellespont, and even to brand it, as though it were⁵ a slave, and to speak thus: “This you suffer for⁶ your insolence, in that you⁷ have dared to destroy my bridge; for what evil have you ever suffered at
 10 my hands?⁸ I will cross you, whether you wish it or not, foul and salt stream that you are, to whom no man offers sacrifice.”

In this way then they punished the Hellespont; but those who had been in charge of the building of the bridge
 15 were beheaded,⁹ and other builders bridged the strait anew,¹⁰ in order that the king might cross.

¹ τὰς, i.e. γεφύρας.

² Who had been bidden, impers. pass. ³ Width, τὸ εὖρος. ⁴ In anger, μετ' ὀργῆς. ⁵ As though it were, ὡσπερ, with partic. ⁶ For, ἔνεκα. ⁷ In that you, participle, or causal cause. ⁸ At my hands, ὑπ' ἔμοῦ. ⁹ Were beheaded, personal pass. with heads in the acc. ¹⁰ Anew, πάλιν.

XXIII

XERXES AT ABYDUS

Herodotus (see p. 124), 7, 44 ff.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἥθιλησε Ξέρξης ἵδεσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ¹ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτη προεξέδρη² λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου³ πρότερον βασιλέος. 5 ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἔζετο, κατορέων ἐπὶ τῆς ἡιόνος⁴ ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας, θηεύμενος δὲ ἴμερθη⁵ τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν⁶ γινομένην ἵδεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἄμιλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον 10 ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς⁷ καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἑωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. μαθὼν δὲ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξη 15 στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὡνὴρ φρασθεὶς⁸ Ξέρξην δακρύσαντα εἴρετο τάδε· Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα⁹ ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις.

¹ κολωνοῦ, *hill*. ² προεξέδρη, *throne (for observation)*. ³ ἐντειλαμένου, ἐντέλλω, *command*. ⁴ ἡιόνος, *shore, beach*. ⁵ ἴμερθη, *desire seized him*. ⁶ ἄμιλλαν, *race*. ⁷ ἀκτάς, *headlands, then, freely, shores*. ⁸ φρασθεὶς, *noticing*. ⁹ κεχωρισμένα, *different*.

ό δὲ εἶπε· Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον¹ κατοικτῖραι²
 20 ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος³ βίος, εἰ τούτων γε
 ἔόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ ἑκατοστὸν⁴ ἔτος περιέσται.
 ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· Ἐτερα τούτου παρὰ⁵ τὴν ζόην
 πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὗτῳ βραχέῃ βίῳ
 οὐδεὶς οὗτῳ ἀνθρωπος ἐών εὐδαιμων πέφυκε, οὗτε τού-
 25 των οὗτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις
 καὶ οὐκὶ ἄπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν.
 αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι
 συνταράσσουσαι καὶ βραχὺν ἔόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν
 εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὗτῳ ὁ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς⁶
 30 ἔουσης τῆς ζόης καταφυγὴ αἱρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
 γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας⁷ τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερὸς⁸
 ἐν αὐτῷ εύρισκεται ἐών. Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων·
 Ἐπειδὴ βιοτῆς μέν νυν ἀνθρωπηίης πέρι, ἔουσης
 τοιαύτης οἵην περ συ διαιρέαι⁹ εἶναι, παυσώμεθα,
 35 μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν
 χερσὶ.

Xerxes, wishing to behold⁹ his great army, ordered men to build him a throne of white marble upon a hill in Abydus. There he sat, and, as he saw his ships, which covered the Hellespont, and his men filling¹⁰ the shores and the plains,
 5 he was pleased, and counted¹¹ himself the happiest¹² of men; but presently¹³ he burst into tears. Now his uncle, Arta-

¹ λογισάμενον, when I reflected. ² κατοικτῖραι, to pity, lament.

³ ἑκατοστὸν, hundredth. ⁴ παρά, in the course of. ⁵ μοχθηρῆς, wretched.

⁶ γεύσας, after giving a taste of. ⁷ φθονερός, jealous. ⁸ διαιρέαι, judge, determine.

⁹ To behold, avoid the mid. of ὄρω. θεῶμαι is proper here. ¹⁰ Filling: if the text be followed, ἐπίπλεως is the Attic form. ¹¹ Counted, νομίζω. ¹² Happiest, εὐδαιμονέστατος. ¹³ Presently, αὐτίκα.

banus, was with him, and asked him what the matter was;¹ for he wondered as he saw him weeping. The king answered that he was thinking how brief mortal life was, and that
10 of all these men soon² not one would be alive. But Artabanus said: "King, this is true; life is short. But to many a man³ it seems long, and when misfortune and sickness befall him, he would rather be dead than alive. For the gods are jealous, and do not suffer men always to prosper."⁴
15 At this Xerxes ceased weeping, and said: "Well,⁵ our present lot⁶ is good. Why then should⁷ we speak of ill?"

¹ *What the matter was*=*what he suffered.* ² *Soon*, μετ' ὀλίγον.

³ *To many a man*, omit *a man*. ⁴ *To prosper*, καλῶς πράττω. ⁵ *Well*, ἀλλὰ. ⁶ *Our present lot*=*the present things.* ⁷ *Should*, χρή.

XXIV

THE CROSSING OF THE HELLESPONT

Herodotus (see p. 124), 7, 54 ff.

[See *Grote*, *IV*, pp. 130 ff.; *Curtius*, *II*, pp. 282 ff.; *Duruy*, *II*, *II*, pp. 440 ff.; *Cox*, *I*, pp. 466 ff.; *Holm*, *II*, pp. 41 ff.; and *Abbott*, *II*, pp. 129 ff.]

Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίη ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμιήματά¹ τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες² καὶ μυρσίνησι³ στορυύντες⁴ τὴν ὁδόν. ὡς δ’ ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης⁵ Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην⁶ τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἢ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι⁷ τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέ-
10 βαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσεον κρητῆρα⁸ καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως⁹ διακρῖναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἥλιῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπεποίητο, δι-

¹ θυμιήματα, *incense*. ² καταγίζοντες, *offering, burning*. ³ μυρσίνησι, *sprays of myrtle*. ⁴ στορυύντες, *strewing*. ⁵ φιάλης, *bowl*. ⁶ συντυχίην, *chance, misfortune*. ⁷ τέρμασι, *limits*. ⁸ κρητῆρα, *bowl for mixing (wine)*. ⁹ ἀτρεκέως, *exactly, surely*.

έβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἔτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ
Πόντου ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἄπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς
τὸ Λίγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπηίη.¹ ἡγέοντο δὲ
πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες,
20 μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμεικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων.
ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίη πρῶτοι
μὲν οἵ τε ἵπποται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες·
ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι. μετὰ δὲ οἵ τε ἵπποι οἱ
ἱροὶ² καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ
25 οἱ αἰχμοφόροι³ καὶ οἱ ἵπποται οἱ χλίοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τού-
τοισι ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἄμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς
τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἥδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὑστατον διαβῆναι
βασιλέα πάντων.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπείτε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο⁴
30 τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ
στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρό-
νησι,⁵ ἐλινύσσας⁶ οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται,
Ξέρξεω ἥδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα
εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον. ⁷Ω Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος⁷
35 Πέρση καὶ οὕνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστα-
τον⁸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώ-
πους; καὶ γὰρ ἀνευ τούτων ἔξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.

On the morrow, at break of day,⁹ they burned incense¹⁰
and strewed sprays of myrtle¹¹ on the bridge. Then, when

¹ ἡ θεραπηίη, camp-followers. ² ἱροί, sacred. ³ αἰχμοφόροι, spearmen.

⁴ ἐθηεῖτο, beheld. ⁵ εὐφρόνησι, nights. ⁶ ἐλινύσσας, halting, remaining
idle. ⁷ εἰδόμενος, taking the form of. ⁸ ἀνάστατον, desolate.

⁹ At break of day = at the same time with (ἄμα) the rising sun.

¹⁰ Incense: λιβανωτός is the common Attic word, but both θυμίαμα and
καθαγιζω may be retained as in ritualistic diction. ¹¹ Myrtle: μυρρίνη
is the Attic form.

their preparations had been made,¹ Xerxes himself poured libations, and prayed to the sun, the Persians' god, that he 5 might subdue all Europe and return safe² to Asia. Now whether³ he repented of having scourged the Hellespont as his slave or³ not, I know not; but, after the prayer, he cast the bowl into this same salt sea, to which he had said no man offered sacrifice.

10 After this they crossed, horse, foot, and camp-followers,⁴ all with garlands on their heads, and they were led by⁵ the ten thousand Persians. Seven days and nights passed⁶ before all had crossed. No wonder⁷ then that a man of Abydus, who was looking on, exclaimed that Zeus himself, in mortal 15 form⁸ and taking the name of Xerxes, was leading all humankind against Greece.

¹ *Had been made*, ἐπειδή, with aor., or, if the impers. pass. is preferred, with the plpf. ² *Return safe*, σώζομαι. ³ *Whether . . . or*, εἴτε . . . εἴτε. ⁴ *Camp-followers*, ὄχλος. ⁵ *Were led by*, imitate the text. ⁶ *Passed*, παρέρχομαι. ⁷ *No wonder*, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. ⁸ *In mortal form*, ἀνθρώπος γενόμενος.

XXV

THERMOPYLAE

Herodotus (see p. 124), 7, 210 ff.

[See *Grote*, *IV*, pp. 183 ff.; *Curtius*, *II*, pp. 307 ff.; *Duruy*, *II*, *II*, pp. 453 ff.; *Cox*, *I*, pp. 504 ff.; *Holm*, *II*, pp. 50 ff.; and *Abbott*, *II*, pp. 153 ff.]

Τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρῆκε ήμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἱεὶ σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτη δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο¹ ἀλλά οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείη² τε καὶ ἀβουλίη διαχρεώμενοι³ μένειν, πέμπτει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μῆδους τε καὶ 5 Κισσίους θυμωθείς,⁴ ἐντειλάμενος⁵ σφεας ζωγρήσαντας⁶ ἄγειν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἐωτοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι⁷ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί, ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλαυνον, καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίοντες.⁸ δῆλον δ' ἐποίειν παντί τεῳ καὶ 10 οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἰεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ήμέρης.⁹ ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο,¹⁰ ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεύς, τῶν ἥρχε

¹ ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, *when they would not withdraw*. ² ἀναιδείη, *audacity*. ³ διαχρεώμενοι, *freely, in a spirit of*. ⁴ θυμωθεῖς, *in anger*. ⁵ ἐντειλάμενος, *ordering*. ⁶ ζωγρήσαντας, *to take alive and*. ⁷ φερόμενοι, *with a rush*. ⁸ καίπερ . . . προσπταίοντες, *though suffering heavily*. ⁹ δι' ήμέρης, *all day long*. ¹⁰ τρηχέως περιείποντο, *were being roughly handled*.

15 Ὄτιδάρινης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως¹ κατεργασόμενοι.
 ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, οὐδὲν
 πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ
 αὐτά, ἀτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ² τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ
 δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἥ περ οἱ Ἑλληνες
 20 καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθεϊ χρήσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἀλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν
 οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως
 ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες³ φεύγεσκον δῆθεν,⁴ οἱ δὲ
 βάρβαροι ὄρωντες φεύγοντας βοῆ τε καὶ πατάγῳ⁵ ἐπή-
 25 ισαν, οἱ δ' ἀν⁶ καταλαμβανόμενοι⁷ ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι
 εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατ-
 ἐβαλλον πλήθεϊ ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων ἐπιπτον
 δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνέατο παραλαβεῖν⁸ οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου
 30 πειρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλ-
 λοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. ἐν ταύτησι τῇσι προσό-
 δοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρὶς
 ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.
 τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίη οἱ βάρ-
 35 βαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον⁹ ἀτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόν-
 των, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι¹⁰ τε καὶ
 οὐκ οἶους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι συν-
 ἐβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα
 κεκοσμημένοι ἥσαν καὶ ἐν μέρεϊ ἔκαστοι ἐμάχοντο,
 40 πλὴν Φωκέων. οὗτοι δὲ ἐσ τὸ ὄρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλά-

¹ εὐπετέως, *easily*. ² στεινοπόρῳ, *narrow*. ³ ἀλέες, *all together*.

⁴ δῆθεν, *forsooth*, strongly ironical. ⁵ πατάγῳ, *in*. ⁶ ἀν, *with* ὑπέστρε-
 φον, frequentative. ⁷ καταλαμβανόμενοι, *when they were being overtaken*.

⁸ παραλαβεῖν, *to get control of*. ⁹ ἀέθλεον, *fought*. ¹⁰ κατατετρωματίσθαι,
that they had been disabled by wounds.

ξοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν.¹ ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἄλλοιότερον² οἱ Πέρσαι ἡ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώρων, ἀπήλαυνον. ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσηται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εύρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς ἥλθε οἱ
45 ἐσ λόγους ὡς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι, ἔφρασέ τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσαν
ἐσ Θερμοπύλας καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτης ὑπομείναντας
Ἐλλήνων.

He leads a detachment to attack the Greeks in the rear.

50 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπουδὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν³ χρόνον ἐσ ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο⁴ ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη⁵ τέ ἐστι καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν ἡ περ ἡ
55 περίοδός τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἱ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην προσήισαν καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην⁶ Ἐλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἥδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήισαν ἐσ τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος.⁶ τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος⁷ ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ
60 τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐσ τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν ἐπιπτον πλήθεϊ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον⁸ πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐσ τὸ πρόσω πότρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐσ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο⁹ ζωὶ ὑπ' ἄλλήλων·

¹ ἀτραπὸν, *path*. ² ἄλλοιότερον, *different*. ³ ἐπισχών, *waiting*.

⁴ ἐπέσταλτο, *instructions had been given*. ⁵ συντομωτέρη, *shorter*.

⁶ αὐχένος, *pass*, lit. *neck*. ⁷ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος, *their wall of defense*.

⁸ ἐρράπιζον, *kept striking*. ⁹ κατεπατέοντο, *were trampled under foot*.

ἥν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιιόντων τὸ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ρώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τὸν βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.¹ δόρατα μέν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἥδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα,² οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τὸν Πέρσας. καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενομένος ἄριστος, καὶ ἔτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπιθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπιθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί. ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παιδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ἄπεράνθης.
 . . . (καὶ) ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνιδεω Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὡθισμὸς³ ἐγίνετο πολλός, ἐς δὲ τοῦτον τε ἀρετὴ οἱ Ἑλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν⁴ καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τὸν ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε⁵ μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἥκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἥδη ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος. ἐς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι⁶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἵζοντο⁷ ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἐστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους⁸ μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχωσαν⁹ οἱ βάρβαροι

¹ παραχρεώμενοι τε καὶ ἀτέοντες, *in a spirit of reckless daring.*

² κατεηγότα, *broken.* ³ ὡθισμός, *hand-to-hand struggle.*

⁴ ὑπεξείρυσαν, *drew out.* ⁵ τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε, *this struggle lasted.*

⁶ παραμειψάμενοι, *passing by.* ⁷ ἵζοντο, *took up their position.* ⁸ ἀλεξομένους, *defending themselves.*

⁹ κατέχωσαν, *overwhelmed.*

βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίης ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες
95 πάντοθεν περισταδόν.

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων ὅμως λέγεται ἄριστος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι Σπαρτήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τόδε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἡ συμμεῖξαι σφεας τοῖσι Μῆδοισι, πυθόμενον πρός τεν 100 τῶν Τρηχινίων ὡς, ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν διστῶν¹ ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτο πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοισι εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιεύμενον τὸ Μῆδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος 115 ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μῆδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἥλιῳ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἐπεά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἄριστενσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι 120 δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὁρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεε μάλιστα τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδεω. θαφθεῖσι² δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτη τῇ περ ἐπεσον καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἡ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγρα- 125 πται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
Ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτησι ἴδιῃ.

120 ³Ω ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι³ πειθόμεσοι.

¹ διστῶν, arrows. ² θαφθεῖσι, buried. ³ ῥήμασι, commands.

A.

When Xerxes, after allowing four days to pass, saw that the Lacedaemonians did not flee as he supposed they would, he became very¹ angry² and ordered the Medes and the Cissians to advance against them, saying: “Take these men alive, and bring them before me.” They then advanced, thinking that they would easily³ overcome the Greeks; but, although they fought long, and although many brave men fell, they were in the end compelled⁴ to withdraw.

Then it became clear to the king that he needed⁵ not more people, but more men, and he ordered Hydarnes to advance at the head of⁶ the “Immortals.” But these met with the same experience,⁷ and they, too, were forced to flee. For the pass⁸ was narrow, and their spears were shorter than those of the Greeks. Furthermore,⁹ in this battle the Lacedaemonians showed that they knew well¹⁰ how to fight; and fight they did¹¹ worthily of their country¹² and their reputation.¹³

B.

On the next day the barbarians advanced for the third time,¹⁴ for they thought that the Greeks would no longer be able to fight on account of their many wounds.¹⁵ But in this they were deceived,¹⁶ for the Greeks were drawn up as before¹⁷ and again drove them back. Meanwhile, however, a Malian, named¹⁸ Ephialtes, told the king of the path leading through the mountains, and thus he was enabled to attack the Greeks

¹ *Very*, σφέδρα. ² *Angry*, δργήσομαι. ³ *Easily*, φαδίως. ⁴ *Compelled*, ἀναγκάζομαι. ⁵ *Needed*, impers. δεῖ, with dat. and gen. ⁶ *At the head of*, ἔχων. ⁷ *Met with the same experience* = suffered the same things. ⁸ *Pass*, πάροδος. ⁹ *Furthermore*, ἔτι δέ. ¹⁰ *Well*, καλῶς. ¹¹ *Fight they did*, ἐμάχοντο δέ. ¹² *Country*, πατρίς. ¹³ *Reputation*, δόξα.

¹⁴ *For the third time*, τὸ τρίτον. ¹⁵ *Wounds*, τραύματα. ¹⁶ *Deceived*, ψεύδομαι, with acc. ¹⁷ *As before*, ὡσπερ πρότερον. ¹⁸ *Named*, δνομα, simply.

on both sides.¹ Then the Lacedaemonians, seeing that² death was at hand, came forth into the broad part³ of the pass and there fought gloriously, although by this time⁴ many of their spears were broken. But the barbarians even now⁵ had no heart⁶ to come against them, until⁷ their leaders forced them to advance under the lash. Here there fell Persians past counting, some slain by the Lacedaemonians, and some trampled to death by one another, and many, too, of the Spartans, among them their king, Leonidas.

C.

After this, when Ephialtes and his men had come,⁸ and the Greeks saw that they were shut in⁹ on both sides, they withdrew again to the narrow part of the pass where their wall was, and there, taking their stand upon a hill, they fought until all had fallen.

Such men these proved themselves,¹⁰ brave men, one and all;¹¹ yet,¹² if one should ask whom I judged¹³ to be bravest of them all, I should say, Dieneces. For to him a man of Trachis said, thinking to terrify him: “It is impossible to fight against these barbarians, for they are so numerous that when they let fly their arrows they hide the sun.” But Dieneces answered: “So much¹⁴ the better. If this is so,¹⁵ we shall fight in the shade.” So little did he care¹⁶ for the danger.

After this battle the Greeks were buried right there where they fell, and even now men tell how four thousand men fought with three hundred myriads.

¹ *On both sides*, ἀμφοτέρωθεν. ² *Seeing that*, ἄτε, with gen. abs.

³ *Part*, omit. ⁴ *By this time*, ἥδη. ⁵ *Even now*, ἔτι καὶ νῦν, with neg., οὐδὲ νῦν. ⁶ *Had no heart*, οὐ τολμῶ. ⁷ *Until*, πρὶν, with indic.

⁸ *Had come*, avoid the plpf. in temporal clauses. ⁹ *Were shut in*, κυκλοῦμαι. ¹⁰ *Proved themselves*, γίγνομαι. ¹¹ *One and all*, οἱ σύμπαντες. ¹² *Yet*, κατοι. ¹³ *Judged*, κρίνω. ¹⁴ *So much*, τοσούτῳ. ¹⁵ *Is so*, ἔχω, with adv. ¹⁶ *Little did he care for*, δλιγωρῶ, with gen.

XXVI

ARTEMISIA'S EXPLOIT AT SALAMIS

Herodotus (see p. 124), 8, 86 ff.

[See *Grote*, *IV*, pp. 215 ff.; *Curtius*, *II*, pp. 324 ff.; *Duruy*, *II*, *II*, pp. 460 ff.; *Cox*, *I*, pp. 541 ff.; *Holm*, *II*, pp. 56 ff.; and *Abbott*, *II*, pp. 188 ff.]

Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκερατίζετο,¹ αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Αθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγινητέων. ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὐτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι² οἷόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἥσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωτῶν ἦ πρὸς Εὐβοίη, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων³ Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε ἔκαστος ἐωτὸν 10 θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους⁴ εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἔκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε⁵ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλέϊ. 15 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἦ νηῦς ἦ Αρτεμισίης

¹ ἐκερατίζετο, were disabled, τὸ πλῆθος being equivalent to αἱ πολλαῖ.

² ἔμελλε . . . συνοίσεσθαι, was bound to happen.

³ δειμαίνων, fearing.

⁴ μετεξετέρους, with ἄλλους, the others severally.

⁵ εὐδοκίμησε, won renown.

έδιώκετο ύπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε
 20 ἔονσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάση.¹ διωκομένη γὰρ ύπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα² ἐνέβαλε³ νηὶ φιλίῃ ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων⁴ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου.
 εἰ μὲν καί τι νεῦκος⁵ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ²⁵ Ἐλλήσποντον ἔόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης⁶ αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε⁷ ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα⁸ ηῆς. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε,⁹ εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλᾶ⁹ ἑωτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἴδε μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἡ Ἐλληνίδα εἶναι ἡ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῆ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν
 30 τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δή τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων. Δέσποτα, ὁρᾶς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται
 35 ταῦτα καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε; καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι¹⁰ εἰ ἀληθέως ἔστι Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἐργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι,

¹ τὸ καὶ . . . ποιησάση, *the doing of which proved also to her advantage.* ² φέρουσα, *at full speed.* ³ ἐνέβαλε, *rammed.* ⁴ Καλυνδέων: Calynda was a city of Caria. ⁵ νεῦκος, *quarrel.* ⁶ ἐκ προνοίης, *intentionally.* ⁷ συνεκύρησε . . . παραπεσοῦσα, *happened by chance to run afoul of her.* ⁸ κατέδυσε, *had sunk it.* ⁹ διπλᾶ, *two-fold.* ¹⁰ ἐπειρέσθαι, *asked.*

σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον¹ τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστέατο² εἶναι πολεμίην· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα,
45 καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον³ γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες· ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ⁴ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς 50 Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἄτε γὰρ νέειν⁵ ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ⁶ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν 55 Σαλαμῖνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῦσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῆσι νησὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί⁷ τι 60 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεῖ, τῆσι σφετέρησι νησὶ φευγούσησι περιέπιπτον. . . .

‘Ως δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες⁸ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἑλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων⁹ ὅσα ταύτη ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἔτοιμοι ἥσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, 65 ἐλπίζοντες τῆσι περιεόσησι νησὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα. . . . Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται¹⁰ τοῖσι

¹ ἐπίσημον, standard, sign. ² ἡπιστέατο, they thought surely.

³ κατήγορον, accuser. ⁴ πόνῳ, toil, struggle. ⁵ νέειν, to swim. ⁶ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ, in hand-to-hand fight. ⁷ ἀποδεξόμενοι, from δείκνυμι, not from δέχομαι. ⁸ κατειρύσαντες, after they had towed. ⁹ ναυηγίων, wrecks. ¹⁰ ὑποθῆται, might suggest.

Ἐλλησι ἡ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς¹ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῷ κινδυνεύσῃ ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν² ἐβούλευε.

A.

In this sea fight the Persians showed themselves brave men, but they were not skilled³ as the Greeks were,⁴ so that in the end most of their ships were destroyed. Now I cannot tell what the others severally⁵ achieved,⁶ but the tale about⁷ Artemisia is worth telling. For she, when pursued and unable to escape on account of the multitude of the Persian ships, rammed at full speed⁸ and sank a Calyndian ship which was in her way.⁹ At this one might well be¹⁰ surprised, for the Calyndians were friendly and themselves also¹¹ Carians,¹² but Artemisia reaped¹³ a two-fold benefit from this: in the first place the commander of the Athenian ship gave up the pursuit thinking that she was on their side,¹⁴ and secondly the king honored her still more than before, for he supposed it was¹⁵ a Greek ship that she had sunk. And, as luck would have it, no one from that ship escaped to tell¹⁶ how the matter really¹⁷ was.¹⁷

B.

Meanwhile Xerxes, who was beholding the fight,¹⁸ saw the ship which thus sank another, and asked those about him

¹ ἀπολαμφθεὶς, *cut off.* ² δρησμὸν, *flight.*

³ *Skilled*, ἐπιστήμων. ⁴ *As . . . were*, ὡσπερ, omitting *were*.

⁵ *Severally*, ἔκαστοι. ⁶ *Achieved*, πράττω. ⁷ *The tale about*, τὰ περὶ, with acc. ⁸ *At full speed*, φερομένη, rather than φέρουσα. ⁹ *In her way*, ἐμποδῶν. ¹⁰ *Might well be*, εἰκότως, with poten. opt. ¹¹ *Carians*, Κάρες. ¹² *Reaped*, follow the text, or use φέρομαι. ¹³ *On their side*, μετ' αὐτῶν. ¹⁴ *It was, etc.*: avoid the circumlocution, and put the adj. first. ¹⁵ *Escaped to tell*: follow the text, or use ὡστε. ¹⁶ *Really*, τῷ δυτὶ. ¹⁷ *Was*, ἔχω.

¹⁸ *Fight*, ναυμαχία.

if it was really Artemisia's. They said that it was,¹ and then the king exclaimed, “Would that² my men were as brave as this woman!” And this he said because by this time many of his ships had been destroyed or captured³ and many notable men had been slain, among them his own brother. For most of the Persians did not know how to swim, so that, when their ships were destroyed, they perished; but those of the Greeks who met with this misfortune⁴ swam ashore,⁵ save those who⁶ were slain in fight.

When at length the battle came to an end⁷ the Greeks put⁸ in to Salamis, expecting that the king would bring together the ships he had left and again sail against them. But Xerxes dared not fight again, but, fearing that they might also destroy the bridge over the Hellespont, bethought him of flight.⁹

¹ Said it was, *φημι*, simply. ² Would that, *εἰ γάρ*, with past indic., or *ωφελον*, with infin. ³ Captured, *ἀλισκομαι*. ⁴ Met with this misfortune = suffered this. ⁵ Ashore = to the land. ⁶ Save those who, *πλὴν θσοι*. ⁷ Came to an end, *τελευτῶ*. ⁸ Put in to, *προσέχω εἰς*.
⁹ Flight, *φυγή*.

XXVII

PLATAEA

Herodotus (see p. 124), 9, 61 ff.

[See *Grote*, *IV*, pp. 257 ff.; *Curtius*, *II*, pp. 339 ff.; *Duruy*, *II*, *II*, pp. 478 ff.; *Cox*, *I*, pp. 584 ff.; *Holm*, *II*, pp. 69 ff.; and *Abbott*, *II*, pp. 225 ff.]

Οῦτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται,¹ ἔόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἵ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι, Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο² ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίω καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες³ γὰρ τὰ γέρρα⁴ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως,⁵ οὗτα ὥστε 10 πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέφαντα τὸν Πανσανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἡραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος. ταῦτα δὲ τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ 15 Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τὸν βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πανσανίεω ἐγί-

¹ Τεγεῆται: Tegea was a city in S.E. Arcadia. ² οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο, would in no wise part from. ³ φράξαντες, making a hedge of. ⁴ γέρρα, wicker shields. ⁵ ἀφειδέως, in vast numbers, lit. unsparingly.

νετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ
 κοτὲ¹ ἐγίνετο, ἔχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ
 οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες.² ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶ-
 τον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἥδη
 ἐγίνετο μάχη ἴσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ
 χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐσ ὁ ἀπίκοντο ἐσ ὡθισμόν.³ τὰ γάρ
 δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων⁴ οἱ βάρβαροι.
 λήματι⁵ μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμη οὐκ ἥσσονες ἥσαν οἱ
 Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοί⁶ δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς⁷ ἀνεπιστήμονες
 ἥσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην,⁸ προ-
 εξαίσσοντες⁹ δὲ κατ' ἔνα καὶ δέκα καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ
 ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι,¹⁰ ἐσέπιπτον ἐσ τοὺς Σπαρτιή-
 τας καὶ διεφθείροντο. τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐών
 Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε
 περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας¹¹ Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους,
 ταύτη δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν.¹² ὅσον
 μέν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ
 ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
 ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμέ-
 νον, ἐὸν ἴσχυρότατον, ἐπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 ἐτράποντο καὶ εἰξαν¹³ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον
 γάρ σφεας ἐδηλέετο¹⁴ ἡ ἐσθής, ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων·
 πρὸς γὰρ ὄπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.
 ἐνθαῦτα ἦ τε δίκη τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ
 χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέ-

¹ χρόνῳ κοτέ, finally. ² μετέντες, throwing aside. ³ ὡθισμόν, cf. XXV, l. 81. ⁴ κατέκλων, broke off. ⁵ λήματι, courage. ⁶ ἀνοπλοί, without defensive armor. ⁷ καὶ πρὸς, and besides. ⁸ σοφίην, skill. ⁹ προεξαίσσοντες, darting forth. ¹⁰ συστρεφόμενοι, in groups of. ¹¹ λογάδας, picked men. ¹² ἐπίεσαν, pressed hard on. ¹³ εἰξαν, gave way. ¹⁴ ἐδηλέετο, harmed.

ετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται¹ καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν
 ἡμεῖς ἕδμεν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρί-
 δεω . . . ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ⁴⁵
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμου ἐσ τὸ
 στρατόπεδον τὸ ἔωστῶν καὶ ἐσ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ
 ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ² τῇ Θηβαΐδι.

When the rest of the Greeks had withdrawn,³ the Lacedaemonians, although left alone, resolved⁴ to attack the barbarians. They therefore sacrificed, as their custom is before⁵ a battle, but the omens would not prove favorable. Mean-⁵ while the Persians, who had made a hedge of their wicker shields before their line, were letting⁶ their arrows fly,⁶ and many of the Lacedaemonians were falling. Seeing this Pausanias called upon the goddess Hera not to suffer⁷ them to perish; and it is said that straightway the omens became¹⁰ favorable, and they advanced. A fierce struggle then ensued,⁸ for the Persians, especially Mardonius and the picked men about him, showed themselves no whit⁹ inferior in courage; but they wore no armor, and besides were unskilled in fight as compared with¹⁰ Spartans. Finally¹⁵ therefore Mardonius and the best of those about him fell, and then all turned and fled.

Thus Pausanias won the most glorious victory whereof we have record.¹¹

¹ ἀναιρέεται, *won*. ² μοίρῃ, *district, territory*.

³ *Had withdrawn*, ἀναχωρῶ. ⁴ *Resolved*, δοκῶ, with dat. ⁵ *Before*, πρό, with gen. ⁶ *Letting . . . fly*, cf. XXV, l. 100, or use τοξεύω simply. ⁷ *Suffer*, περιορῶ, with partic. ⁸ *Ensued*, γίγνομαι. ⁹ *No whit*, οὐδέν. ¹⁰ *As compared with*, ὡς πρός. ¹¹ *Have record=know*.

XXVIII

THE RING OF POLYCRATES

Herodotus (see p. 124), 3, 39 ff.

[On Polycrates see *Grote*, *III*, pp. 453 ff.; *Curtius*, *II*, pp. 168 ff.; *Duruy*, *II*, *I*, pp. 272 ff.; *Cor*, *I*, pp. 359 ff.; *Holm*, *I*, pp. 414 ff.; and *Abbott*, *I*, pp. 514 ff.]

Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τι πρήγματα ηὔξετο¹ καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα² ἀνά τετὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἵθυσειε³ στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἔχώρεε εὐτυχέως. ἔκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους⁴ τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἥγε⁵ πάντας διακρίνων⁶ οὐδένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ ἔλαβε ή ἀρχὴν⁷ μηδὲ λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀραιρήκεε,⁸ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου⁹ ἀστεα· ἐν¹⁰ δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους πανστρατιῆ βοηθέοντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίγ κρατήσας εἶλε, οἱ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὥρυξαν.

Καί κως τὸν Ἀμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλά οἱ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελέσ.¹¹ πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεῦνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης, γράφας ἐς

¹ ηὔξετο, increased. ² βεβωμένα, celebrated. ³ ιθύσειε, strove, undertook.

⁴ πεντηκοντέρους, ships of fifty oars. ⁵ ἔφερε . . . ἥγε, plundered. ⁶ διακρίνων, examining. ⁷ ἀρχὴν, to begin with. ⁸ ἀραιρήκεε, had s. i. deduced. ⁹ ἡπείρου, mainland. ¹⁰ ἐν, among the number. ¹¹ ἐπιμελέσ, an object of concern.

βιβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον· Ἀμασις Πολυκράτει ὥδε λέγει. ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα, ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι,¹ τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν.² καί κως βούλομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἀν κήδωμαι³ τὸ μέν τι εὐτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων, τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν,⁴ καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα⁵ ἐναλλὰξ⁶ πρήσσων ἢ εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα. οὐδένα γάρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόριζος,⁷ εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σὺ δὲ νῦν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποίησον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε· φροντίσας τὸ ἀν εῦρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ὧ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ⁸ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις,⁹ τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅκως μηκέτι ἥξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους. ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλὰξ ἥδη τῷπο τούτου αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι τῆσι πάθησι προσπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένῳ ἀκέο.¹⁰

Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος¹¹ ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἀμασις, ἐδίζητο¹² ἐπ' ὧ ἀν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσηθείη¹³ ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων,¹⁴ διζήμενος δὲ εὑρισκε τόδε· ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς¹⁵ τὴν ἐφόρεε χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου¹⁶ μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίεε τοιάδε· πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν

¹ ἀρέσκουσι, *please.* ² φθονερόν, *envious, jealous.* ³ κήδωμαι, *care for.*

⁴ προσπταίειν, *fail.* ⁵ διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα, *go through life.*

⁶ ἐναλλάξ, *alternately.* ⁷ πρόρριζος, *utterly, "root and branch."* ⁸ ἐπ'

ῳ ἀπολομένῳ, *at the loss of which.* ⁹ ἀλγήσεις, *feel pain.* ¹⁰ ἀκέο, *heal, cure;* pres. imperative.

¹¹ ἐπιλεξάμενος, *reading.* ¹² ἐδίζητο, *sought.*

¹³ ἀσηθείη, *be vexed.* ¹⁴ κειμηλίων, *treasures.* ¹⁵ σφρηγὶς, *a seal-ring.*

¹⁶ σμαράγδου, *emerald.*

40 ἐκέλευε ἐσ τὸ πέλαγος.¹ ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκὰς² ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγῖδα πάντων ὄρεόντων τῶν συμπλόων ρίπτει ἐσ τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐσ τὰ οἰκία συμφορῆ ἔχρατο. πέμπτη δὲ ἦ ἔκτη ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε 45 οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι· ἀνὴρ ἀλιεὺς³ λαβὼν ἵχθυν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἡξίου μιν Πολυκράτεϊ δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτεϊ ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐσ ὅψιν, χωρήσαντος δέ οἱ τούτου ἐλεγε δίδοὺς τὸν ἵχθυν.⁴ Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τόνδε ἐλὰν 50 οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐσ ἀγορῆν, καίπερ ἐὼν ἀποχειροβίοτος,⁵ ἀλλά μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δή μιν φέρων δίδωμι. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἐπεσι ἀμείβεται⁶ τοισίδε· Κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῆ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου· 55 καί σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀλιεὺς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα ἦιε ἐσ τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἵχθυν τάμνοντες⁷ οἱ θεράποντες εύρισκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδού⁸ αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγῖδα. ὡς δὲ εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες⁹ παρὰ 60 τὸν Πολυκράτεα, διδόντες δέ οἱ τὴν σφρηγῖδα ἐλεγον ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ εὐρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐσ βιβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα καταλελάβηκε,¹⁰ γράφας δὲ ἐσ Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε. ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις τὸ βιβλίον τὸ 65 παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἥκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι¹¹ τε

¹ πέλαγος, *the open sea.* ² ἐκάς, *far.* ³ ἀλιεὺς, *fisherman.* ⁴ ἀποχειροβίοτος, *making my living by toil.* ⁵ ἀμείβεται, *answered.*

⁶ τάμνοντες, *cutting (open).* ⁷ νηδού, *belly.* ⁸ κεχαρηκότες, *filled with joy.*

⁹ τὰ ποιήσαντα . . . καταλελάβηκε, *what he had done and what had resulted for him.* ¹⁰ ἐκκομίσαι, *to extricate, save.*

ἀδύνατον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσειν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εύτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὑρίσκει. πέμψας δέ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι¹ 70 ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. τοῦδε δὲ εἴνεκεν ταῦτα ἐποίεε, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεα καταλαβούσης αὐτὸς ἀλγήσει τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός.

A.

Polyrates, tyrant of Samos, ruled over² many islands and many cities of the mainland. These he had subdued with his ships and his bowmen; for it was said that he plundered friend and foe alike, and that he was successful in everything he undertook.³

Now he had a friend, Amasis, king of Egypt, who, when he heard of Polycrates's great prosperity, sent him a letter, saying that he feared that some great misfortune would come upon him, "For the gods," he said, "are jealous, and 10 in the end destroy miserably⁴ all those who are prosperous in everything." So he bade him ponder⁵ which one of his possessions he held most valuable, and at the loss of which he would grieve most, and to throw this away in such wise that⁶ his eyes should never see it again. For he hoped that by 15 this advice he might be able to save his friend, and that after this his good luck would alternate with misfortune.

B.

Now, when Polycrates read this letter, it seemed to him that Amasis gave him good advice; so he decided to throw

¹ διαλύεσθαι, *broke off*.

² Ruled over, *ἀρχω*, with gen. ³ *Undertook*, *ἐπιχειρῶ*. ⁴ *Miserably*, *κακῶς*, or follow the text. ⁵ *Ponder*, *φροντίζω*. ⁶ *In such wise that*, *οὕτως ὅστε*, with infin.

away a seal-ring which he was wont to wear. It was an emerald set in gold, and he thought he would grieve most at the loss of this. So he manned a ship of fifty oars, and put out, and then, in the sight of all those with him, flung the ring into the sea.

A few days after this¹ a fisherman brought to the palace a huge fish, saying that it seemed to him too fine to² be taken to market, but worthy rather to be given to the king. So Polycrates, pleased at the gift and at the man's words, invited him to dinner. Now one may well wonder³ at what I am about to tell; but in the belly of the fish was found this same ring. At this Polycrates was pleased and wrote to Amasis, telling him what he had done.

But Amasis broke off his friendship with him, thinking that calamity was sure⁴ to come upon one so lucky.

¹ *A few days after this*, *νήστερον*, with dat. of measure. ² *Too fine to*, *καλλιών* η ὥστε. ³ *May well wonder*, cf. XXVI, A, note. ⁴ *Was sure*, *πάντως δεῖ*.

XXIX

MENIPPUS AND TANTALUS

Lucian, "Dialogues of the Dead," 17.

[Lucian was born at Samosata on the Euphrates about the year 120 A.D. In a tract still extant he tells how, when a boy fresh from school, he was sent to his uncle, a sculptor of note, to learn the sculptor's trade, as his father had not the means to give him a liberal education, and how, driven out because of his awkwardness in breaking a slab of marble he had been bidden to chisel, he had on the following night seen a dream which had led him to choose culture after all. So he set himself to learn Greek—the language of the cultivated world—and began the study of rhetoric, apparently at Antioch. He lived for a time as a lawyer, but soon, deserting this practical field and devoting himself to sophistic eloquence, travelled widely through the Greek and Roman world, delivering set speeches, and winning for himself renown and doubtless wealth. Later he turned to philosophy and took up his residence at Athens, adopting the form of the dialogue for his writings, and using them to travesty the foibles and follies of his fellows, particularly those who made false pretensions to wisdom or virtue. Philosophy, too, however, he flung aside, not without a touch of bitterness, and in his later years resumed his work as a writer of sophistic "show-pieces." He held for some time before his death a lucrative government position in Egypt, and died there at the age of, perhaps, seventy.

His numerous writings, of which we possess no less than

eighty-two, although some of these are certainly and others probably spurious, represent almost all the phases of his varied activity, and throw a flood of light on the life of his time, that age of decadent paganism with its shams and hollowness, all laid bare by his merciless wit and bitter cynicism.

Lucian's Greek is not pure Attic either in its forms or its vocabulary, and the student should be on his guard against unusual uses of the negative, of the particles generally, and of the optative mood.]

Μένιππος—Τί κλάεις, ὁ Τάνταλε; ή τί σεαυτὸν
δδύρη¹ ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ² ἔστως;

Τάνταλος—ὅτι, ὁ Μένιππε, ἀπόλωλα ὑπὸ τοῦ
δύψους.³

5 Μ.—οὗτως ἀργὸς⁴ εἰ, ὡς⁵ μὴ ἐπικύψας⁶ πιεῖν ή καὶ
νὴ Δί⁷ ἀρυσάμενος⁷ κοιλῇ⁸ τῇ χειρὶ;

Τ.—οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἰ ἐπικύψαιμι· φεύγει γὰρ τὸ
ῦδωρ, ἐπειδὰν προσιόντα αἰσθηταί με· ήν δέ ποτε καὶ⁹
ἀρύσωμαι καὶ προσενέγκω τῷ στόματι, οὐ φθάνω
10 βρέξας¹⁰ ἄκρον τὸ χεῖλος, καὶ διὰ τῶν δακτύλων
διαρρυὲν¹¹ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως αὐθις ἀπολείπει ξηρὰν¹² τὴν
χεῖρά μοι.

Μ.—τεράστιόν¹³ τι πάσχεις, ὁ Τάνταλε. ἀτὰρ
εἰπέ μοι, τί δαὶ καὶ δέη τοῦ πιεῖν; οὐ γὰρ σῶμα ἔχεις,
15 ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐν Λυδίᾳ που τέθαπται,¹⁴ ὅπερ καὶ
πεινῆν¹⁵ καὶ διψῆν¹⁵ ἐδύνατο, σὺ δὲ ή ψυχὴ πῶς ἀν ἔτι
η διψώης η πίνοις;

¹ δδύρη, *bewail*. ² λίμνῃ, *pool*. ³ δίψους, *thirst*. ⁴ ἀργὸς, *lazy*.

⁵ ὡς = ὥστε. ⁶ ἐπικύψας, *stooping down*. ⁷ ἀρυσάμενος, *drawing it up*.

⁸ κοιλῇ, *hollow*. ⁹ καὶ, *trans. by stress on the copula vb.*, *If I DO*.

¹⁰ βρέξας, *wetting*. ¹¹ διαρρυέν, *slipping*. ¹² ξηράν, *dry*. ¹³ τεράστιον, *marvellous*. ¹⁴ τέθαπται, *lies buried*. ¹⁵ πεινῆν, *be hungry*, διψῆν, *be thirsty*.

T.—τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἡ κόλασις¹ ἔστι, τὸ διψῆν τὴν ψυχὴν
ώσ σῶμα οὖσαν.

20 M.—ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως πιστεύσομεν, ἐπεὶ φῆς
κολάζεσθαι τῷ δύψει. τί δ' οὖν σοι τὸ δεινὸν ἔσται;
ἢ δέδιας μῆ ἐνδείᾳ² τοῦ ποτοῦ ἀποθάνης; οὐκ ὅρῳ γὰρ
ἄλλον ἄδην μετὰ τοῦτον ἢ θάνατον ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἔτερον
τόπον.

25 T.—ὅρθως μὲν λέγεις· καὶ τοῦτο δ' οὖν μέρος τῆς
καταδίκης,³ τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν πιεῖν μηδὲν δεόμενον.

M.—ληρεῖς,⁴ ὁ Τάνταλε, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ποτοῦ
δεῖσθαι δοκεῖς, ἀκράτου⁵ γε ἐλλεβόρου⁶ νὴ Δία, ὅστις
τούναντίον τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν λυττώντων⁷ κυνῶν δεδηγμένοις⁸
30 πέπονθας οὐ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύψαν πεφοβημένος.

T.—οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλλέβορον, ὁ Μένιππε, ἀναίνομαι⁹
πιεῖν, γένοιτό μοι μόνον.

M.—θάρρει, ὁ Τάνταλε, ὡς οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος
πίεται τῶν νεκρῶν· ἀδύνατον γάρ· καίτοι οὐ πάντες
25 ὕσπερ σὺ ἐκ καταδίκης διψῶσι τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτοὺς οὐχ
ὑπομένοντος.

Menippus—What is this, Tantalus? You are weeping and lamenting, but I can see no cause.¹⁰

Tantalus—Menippus, I am dying¹¹ of thirst.

Menippus—What, Tantalus! You are dying of thirst,
5 while you stand by a pool of water? Are you then too lazy to stoop down and drink?

¹ κόλασις, punishment. ² ἐνδείᾳ, lack. ³ καταδίκης, sentence.

⁴ ληρεῖς, you talk nonsense. ⁵ ἀκράτου, pure. ⁶ ἐλλεβόρου, hellebore, taken as a cure for madness. ⁷ λυττώντων, mad. ⁸ δεδηγμένοις, bitten.

⁹ ἀναίνομαι, refuse.

¹⁰ Cause, *atrla*. ¹¹ Am dying, pres. mid.

Tantalus—It is a marvel, Menippus, but this very thing is impossible; for the water flees from me so that I am unable to get near it. And there is no use in trying¹ to draw it up in my hand, for it slips through my fingers before I wet my lips. This is my punishment—that I long to drink but cannot.

Menippus—Well, take heart, Tantalus. At any rate² you need not fear that you will die of thirst; for you are in Hades already,³ and there is no longer any death for you. But who could have told me that I should see a spirit that was thirsty?⁴ For how could a spirit drink, anyway,⁵ while its body lies buried?

¹ In trying—if I try, use *πειρῶμαι*. ² At any rate, *γοῦν*, post-positive. ³ Already, *ἥδη*. ⁴ That was thirsty, partic. ⁵ Anyway, *καλ*, with the vb.

XXX

MENIPPUS AND HERMES

Lucian (see p. 157), "Dialogues of the Dead," 18.

Μένιππος—ποῦ δὲ οἱ καλοί εἰσιν ἢ αἱ καλοί,
Ἐρμῆ; ξενάγησόν¹ με νέηλυν² ὄντα.

Ἐρμῆς—οὐ σχολή μοι, ὁ Μένιππε· πλὴν κατ'
ἐκεῖνο ἀπόβλεψον, ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, ἐνθα ὁ Τάκινθός τέ
5 ἐστι καὶ Νάρκισσος καὶ Νιρεὺς καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ
Τυρὼ καὶ Ἐλένη καὶ Λήδα καὶ ὅλως³ τὰ ἀρχαῖα πάντα
κάλλη.⁴

Μ.—ὅστâ⁵ μόνα ὄρω καὶ κρανία⁶ τῶν σαρκῶν⁷
γυμνά, ὅμοια τὰ πολλά.

10 Ε.—καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνά ἐστιν ἀ πάντες οἱ ποιηταὶ
θαυμάζουσι τὰ ὄστρα, ὥν σὺ ἔοικας⁸ καταφρονεῦν.

Μ.—ὅμως⁹ τὴν Ἐλένην μοι δεῖξον· οὐ γάρ ἀν δια-
γνοίην ἔγωγε.

Ε.—τουτὶ τὸ κρανίον ἡ Ἐλένη εστίν.

15 Μ.—εἶτα διὰ τοῦτο αἱ χίλιαι νῆες ἐπληρώθησαν
ἔξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος καὶ τοσοῦτοι ἔπεσον Ἐλληνές
τε καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ τοσαῦται πόλεις ἀνάστατοι¹⁰
γεγόνασιν;

¹ ξενάγησον, show me the sights. ² νέηλυν, new-comer. ³ ὅλως, in a word. ⁴ κάλλη, beauties. ⁵ ὄστρα, bones. ⁶ κρανία, skulls. ⁷ σαρκῶν, flesh. ⁸ ἔοικας, seem. ⁹ ὅμως, nevertheless. ¹⁰ ἀνάστατοι, laid waste.

‘Ε.—ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἶδες, ὁ Μένιππε, ζῶσαν τὴν
γυναικα· ἔφης γὰρ ἀν καὶ σὺ ἀνεμέσητον¹ εἶναι

τοιῆδ’ ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.

ἔπει καὶ τὰ ἀνθη² ξηρὰ ὄντα εἰ τις βλέποι ἀποβεβλη-
κότα³ τὴν βαφήν,⁴ ἀμορφα⁵ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτῷ δόξει, ὅτε
μέντοι ἀνθεῖ⁶ καὶ ἔχει τὴν χρόαν,⁷ κάλλιστά ἐστιν.

25 Μ.—οὐκοῦν τοῦτο, ὁ Έρμῆ, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ
συνίεσταν⁸ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ περὶ πράγματος οὕτως ὀλιγο-
χρονίον⁹ καὶ ράδίως ἀποθανοῦντος πονοῦντες.

‘Ε—οὐ σχολή μοι, ὁ Μένιππε, συμφιλοσοφεῖν σοι.
ῶστε σὺ μὲν ἐπιλεξάμενος¹⁰ τόπον ἔνθα ἀνέθελης, κεῖσο
30 καταβαλῶν σεαυτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους νεκροὺς
ἥδη μετελεύσομαι.

Menippus—Tell me, Hermes, where are all the old-time beauties? Pray take me about and show them to me, for I wish to see those of whom the poets have written.¹¹ Above all,¹² show me Helen.

5 Hermes—Here they are, Menippus. This¹³ is Achilles, this¹³ Narcissus, this¹³ Tyro—yes,¹⁴ and this¹³ is Helen. You see only skulls and bones, you say, but really this skull is Helen; and, had you seen her alive, you, too, would have said, with Homer,¹⁵ that it was but meet long to suffer woes
10 for such a woman.

¹ ἀνεμέσητον, *meet, proper.* ² ἀνθη, *flowers.* ³ ἀποβεβληκότα, *when they have lost.* ⁴ βαφήν, *color.* ⁵ ἀμορφα, *without beauty.* ⁶ ἀνθεῖ, *are in bloom.* ⁷ χρόαν, *color.* ⁸ συνίεσταν, *understand.* ⁹ ὀλιγοχρονίον, *short-lived.* ¹⁰ ἐπιλεξάμενος, *choosing.*

¹¹ *Have written, ποιέω.* ¹² *Above all, μάλιστα.* ¹³ *This, assimilate, in each case, to the gender of the predicate.* ¹⁴ *Yes, and, καὶ δὴ καὶ.*
¹⁵ *With Homer, καθ' Ὁμηρον.*

Menippus—It was this¹ then “that launched² a thousand ships,” and for this so many Greeks and Trojans fought and died. But did they not know, Hermes, that she would soon pass away, like all mortal³ things, and have no
15 more beauty than a withered flower which men throw aside?

Hermes—Well, if you want to philosophize, you must find someone else. For my part⁴ I am busy and must go after the rest of the souls who have come down.

¹ *It was this . . . that*: avoid the periphrasis and put the demonstrative at the head. ² *Launched*, *καθέλκω*. ³ *Mortal*, *θνητός*.

⁴ *For my part*: put the personal pronoun at the head.

XXXI

DIOGENES AND MAUSOLUS

Lucian (see p. 157), "Dialogues of the Dead," 24.

Διογένης—³Ω Κάρ, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς καὶ πάντων ἡμῶν προτιμᾶσθαι ἀξιοῖς;

Μαύσωλος—καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μέν, ὁ Σινωπεῦ,¹ ὃς ἐβασίλευσα Καρίας μὲν ἀπάσης, ἥρξα δὲ καὶ ⁵ Λυδῶν ἐνίων² καὶ νῆσους δέ τινας ὑπηγαγόμην καὶ ἄχρι³ Μιλήτου ἐπέβην τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἰωνίας καταστρεφόμενος· καὶ καλὸς ἦν καὶ μέγας καὶ ἐν πολέμοις καρτερός.⁴ τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ μνῆμα⁵ παμμέγεθες ἔχω ἐπικείμενον, ἡλίκον⁶ οὐκ ἄλλος ¹⁰ νεκρός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐσ κάλλος ἐξησκημένον,⁷ ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐσ τὸ ἀκριβέστατον⁸ εἴκασμένων λίθου⁹ τοῦ καλλίστου, οἶον οὐδὲ νεῶν¹⁰ εὗροι τις ἀν ράδίως. οὐ δοκῶ σοι δικαίως ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγα φρονεῖν;

¹⁵ Δ. —ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φῆς καὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῷ βάρει¹¹ τοῦ τάφου;

Μ.—νὴ Δί² ἐπὶ τούτοις.

¹ Σινωπεῦ: Diogenes came from Sinope, on the southern shore of the Black Sea. ² ἐνίων, *some*. ³ ἄχρι, *as far as*. ⁴ καρτερός, *valiant*. ⁵ μνῆμα, *tombs*. ⁶ ἡλίκον, *as large as*. ⁷ ἐξησκημένον, *wrought*. ⁸ ἐσ τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, *most exactly*. ⁹ λίθον, *marble*. ¹⁰ νεῶν, *temple*. ¹¹ βάρει, *weight*.

Δ.—ἀλλ', ὁ καλὲ Μαύσωλε, οὔτε ἡ ἴσχὺς¹ ἐκείνη
 ἔτι σοι οὔτε ἡ μορφὴ πάρεστιν· εἰ γοῦν τινα ἐλοίμεθα
 20 δικαστὴν εὐμορφίας² πέρι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, τίνος ἔνεκα
 τὸ σὸν κρανίον προτιμηθείη ἀν τοῦ ἐμοῦ· φαλακρὰ³
 γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ γυμνά, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας⁴ ὅμοίως
 προφαίνομεν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀφηρήμεθα καὶ τὰς
 ῥῖνας⁵ ἀποσεσιμώμεθα.⁶ ὁ δὲ τάφος καὶ οἱ πολυτελεῖς⁷
 25 ἐκεῖνοι λίθοι Ἀλικαρνασσεῦσι μὲν ἵσως εἰεν⁸ ἐπιδεί-
 κνυσθαι καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, ὡς δή τι
 μέγα οἰκοδόμημα αὐτοῖς ἔστι· σὺ δέ, ὁ βέλτιστε, οὐχ
 ὅρῳ ὅτι ἀπολαύεις⁹ αὐτοῦ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοῦτο φήσ, ὅτι
 μᾶλλον ἡμῶν ἀχθοφορεῖς¹⁰ ὑπὸ τηλικούτοις λίθοις
 30 πιεζόμενος.¹¹

Μ.—ἀνόνητα¹² οὖν μοι ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ ἴστομος
 ἔσται Μαύσωλος καὶ Διογένης;

Δ.—οὐκ ἴστομος, ὁ γεναιότατε, οὐ γάρ· Μαύ-
 σωλος μὲν γὰρ οἰμώξεται¹³ μεμνημένος τῶν ὑπὲρ γῆς,
 25 ἐν οἷς εὐδαιμονεῦν ὥστο, Διογένης δὲ καταγελάστεται
 αὐτοῦ. καὶ τάφον ὁ μὲν ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ ἐρεῖ ἑαυτοῦ
 ὑπὸ Ἀρτεμισίας τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἀδελφῆς κατεσκευασ-
 μένον, ὁ Διογένης δὲ τοῦ μὲν σώματος εἰ καὶ τινα
 τάφον ἔχει οὐκ οἶδεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμελεν αὐτῷ τούτου·
 40 λόγον δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις περὶ αὐτοῦ καταλέλοιπεν
 ἀνδρὸς βίον βεβιωκώς ὑψηλότερον, ὁ Καρῶν

¹ *Ισχύς*, strength. ² *εὐμορφίας*, comeliness. ³ *φαλακρά*, bald.

⁴ *οδόντας*, teeth. ⁵ *ῥῖνας*, noses. ⁶ *ἀποσεσιμώμεθα*, are snubbed (so that there is nothing left of them, ἀπο—). Trans. as if *ῥῖνες* were the subject. ⁷ *πολυτελεῖς*, costly. ⁸ *εἰεν*, supply ἀν, necessary in Attic prose. ⁹ *ἀπολαύεις*, get good from. ¹⁰ *ἀχθοφορεῖς*, bear a burden. ¹¹ *πιεζόμενος*, weighed down by. ¹² *ἀνόνητα*, useless. ¹³ *οἰμώξεται*, will wail.

ἀνδραποδωδέστατε,¹ τοῦ σοῦ μνήματος καὶ ἐν βεβαιοτέρῳ² χωρίῳ κατεσκευασμένου.

Diogenes asked³ Mausolus, when he came down to Hades,⁴ why it was that he was so proud, and the Carian answered that it was because of his sovereignty, and his comeliness, and his prowess,⁵ and, furthermore,⁶ said that he had a marble tomb in Halicarnassus, larger and more beautiful than any other man's. But Diogenes asked him where his beauty or his strength was now. "Your skull, also," said he, "is bald and bare, and you, too, have neither eyes nor teeth. Wherein then are you comelier than I? And as for that tomb of yours, let the men of Halicarnassus show that and brag of it; for you surely⁷ get no good from such a weight of marble, however⁸ costly, which weighs you down. And see, Mausolus, whether I am not happier⁹ than you. You wail, as you think of the bliss¹⁰ that was yours above, but I can laugh at you. Whether my body has a tomb or not, I know not, nor care. But good men still say that I lived a man, and that is my memorial.¹¹

¹ ἀνδραποδωδέστατε, *most slavish.* ² βεβαιοτέρῳ, *more secure.*

³ Asked, ἐρωτάω. ⁴ To Hades, εἰς "Αἰδου. ⁵ Prowess, ἀνδρεῖα. ⁶ And furthermore, ἔπι δέ. ⁷ Surely, πάντως. ⁸ However = although being.

⁹ Happier, εὐδαιμονέστερος. ¹⁰ Bliss, εὐδαιμονία. ¹¹ Memorial, μνήμα.

XXXII

THE MOSQUITO AND THE LION

Achilles Tatius, 2, 22 ff.

[The Greek Romance was a late growth, and all the extant representatives date from the Post-Christian era. Achilles Tatius is perhaps to be put as late as the fifth century. He is but a name to us, save that he is said to have been, or to have become, a Christian bishop. His tale of the lovers, Leucippe and Clitophon, from which this fable is taken, is the only work that has come down to us under his name.]

Λέγει τοίνυν κώνωψ¹ ἀλαζών² ποτε πρὸς τὸν λέοντα·
 Εἶτα κάμοῦ βασιλεύειν νομίζεις ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀλλων
 θηρίων; ἀλλ' οὕτ' ἐμοῦ καλλίων, οὕτ' ἀλκιμώτερος³
 ἔφυς, οὕτε μείζων. ἐπεὶ τίς σοι πρῶτον ἔστιν ἀλκή;⁴
 ἅμυστεις⁵ τοῖς ὄνυξι⁶ καὶ δάκνεις τοῖς ὀδούσι. ταῦτα
 γὰρ οὐ ποιεῖ μαχομένη γυνή; ποῖον δὲ μέγεθος ἡ
 κάλλος σε κοσμεῖ;⁷ στέρνον⁸ πλατύ, ὥμοι⁹ παχεῖς,
 καὶ πολλὴ περὶ τὸν αὐχένα¹⁰ κόμη.¹¹ τὴν κατόπιν¹² οὖν
 αἰσχύνην οὐχ ὄρᾶς; ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγεθος μὲν ὁ ἀὴρ

¹ κώνωψ, *mosquito*. ² ἀλαζών, *braggart*. ³ ἀλκιμώτερος, *more valiant*.

⁴ ἀλκή, *prowess*. ⁵ ἅμυστεις, *you scratch*. ⁶ ὄνυξι, *claws*. ⁷ κοσμεῖ, *adorns*. ⁸ στέρνον, *chest*. ⁹ ὥμοι, *shoulders*. ¹⁰ αὐχένα, *neck*. ¹¹ κόμη, *mane*. ¹² κατόπιν, *behind, of the hinder parts*.

10 ὅλος, ὅσον μοι καταλαμβάνει¹ τὸ πτερόν, κάλλος δ'
αἱ τῶν λειμώνων² κόμαι. αἱ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ὥσπερ
ἔσθῆτες, ἃς ὅταν θέλω παῦσαι τὴν πτῆσιν³ ἐνδύομαι.⁴
τὴν δ' ἀνδρείαν μου μὴ καὶ γελοῖον⁵ ἥ καταλέγειν.
ὅργανον⁶ γάρ ὅλος εἰμὶ πολέμου· μετὰ μὲν σάλπιγγος
15 παρατάττομαι, σάλπιγξ δέ μοι καὶ βέλος⁷ τὸ στόμα·
ῶστ' εἰμὶ καὶ αὐλητὴς⁸ καὶ τοξότης. ἐμαυτοῦ δ'
διῆστὸς⁹ καὶ τόξον γίνομαι. τοξεύει γάρ μου διαέριον¹⁰
τὸ πτερόν, ἐμπεσὼν δ' ὡς ἀπὸ βέλους ποιῶ τὸ τραῦμα,
ὅ δὲ παταχθεὶς¹¹ ἔξαίφνης βοᾷ καὶ τὸν τετρωκότα¹²
20 ζητεῖ. ἐγὼ δὲ παρὼν οὐ πάρειμι· ὅμοῦ δὲ καὶ φεύγω
καὶ μένω, καὶ περιῆππεύω τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ πτερῷ, γελῶ
δ' αὐτὸν βλέπων περὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν ὀρχούμενον.¹³ ἀλλὰ
τί δεῖ λόγων; ἀρχώμεθα μάχης. ἅμα λέγων ἐμπίπτει
τῷ λέοντι καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπηδᾷ καὶ εἴ τι
25 ἄλλο ἄτριχον¹⁴ τῶν προσώπων, περιῆπτάμενος¹⁵ ἅμα καὶ
τῷ βόμβῳ¹⁶ καταυλῶν.¹⁷ ὁ δὲ λέων ἡγρίαινε¹⁸ τε καὶ
μετεστρέφετο πάντη καὶ τὸν ἀέρα περιέχασκεν.¹⁹ ὁ δὲ
κώνωψ ταύτη πλέον τὴν ὄργην ἐτίθετο παιδιάν, καὶ ἐπ'
αὐτοῖς ἐτίτρωσκε τοῖς χείλεσιν.²⁰ καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκλινεν εἰς
30 τὸ λυποῦν μέρος,²¹ ἀνακάμπτων²² ἔνθα τοῦ τραύματος ἡ
πληγή, ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ παλαιστὴς²³ τὸ σῶμα σκάζων,²⁴ εἰς

¹ καταλαμβάνει, appropriates. ² λειμώνων, meadows. ³ πτῆσιν, flight.

⁴ ἐνδύομαι, I put on. ⁵ γελοῖον, absurd. ⁶ ὅργανον, tool. ⁷ βέλος, missile, weapon.

⁸ αὐλητὴς, flute-player, here, trumpeter. ⁹ διῆστός, arrow.

¹⁰ διαέριον, through the air. ¹¹ παταχθεὶς, smitten. ¹² τετρωκότα, him that smote.

¹³ ὀρχούμενον, dancing. ¹⁴ ἄτριχον, hairless. ¹⁵ περιῆπτάμενος, flying about.

¹⁶ βόμβῳ, with his buzzing. ¹⁷ καταυλῶν, filling his ears (to distraction, κατα-).

¹⁸ ἡγρίαινε, was wroth. ¹⁹ περιέχασκεν, snapped at.

²⁰ χείλεσιν, lips. ²¹ τὸ λυποῦν μέρος, the part that pained him. ²² ἀνα-

κάμπτων, turning back. ²³ παλαιστὴς, wrestler. ²⁴ τὸ σῶμα σκάζων, with crouching (lit. limping) body.

τὴν συμπλοκὴν¹ ἀπέρρει² τῶν τοῦ λέοντος ὁδόντων,¹
 αὐτὴν μέσην διαπτὰς κλειομένην τὴν γέννυν.³ οἱ δ'
 ὁδόντες κενοὶ τῆς θήρας⁴ περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκροτάλιζον.⁵
 35 ηδη τούννυν ὁ λέων ἐκεκμήκει⁶ σκιαμαχῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα
 τοῖς ὁδοῦσι καὶ εἰστήκει παρειμένος⁷ ὄργῃ· ὁ δὲ
 κώνωψ περιῆπτάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν κόμην, ἐπηγέλει⁸ μέλος
 ἐπινίκιον. μακρότερον δὲ ποιούμενος τῆς πτήσεως
 τὸν κύκλον, ὑπὸ περιττῆς⁹ ἀπειροκαλίας¹⁰ ἀράχνης¹¹
 40 λανθάνει νήμασιν¹² ἐμπλακείς,¹³ καὶ τὴν ἀράχνην οὐκ
 ἔλαθεν ἐμπεσών. ὡς δ' οὐκέτι εἶχε φυγεῖν, ἀδημονῶν¹⁴
 εἶπεν, ¹⁵Ω τῆς ἀνοίας· προυκαλούμην¹⁵ γὰρ ἐγὼ λέοντα,
 δλίγος δέ με ἡγρευσεν¹⁶ ἀράχνης χιτών. ¹⁷ ταῦτ' εἰπών,
¹⁸Ωρα τούννυν, ἔφη, καὶ σοὶ τὰς ἀράχνας φοβεῖσθαι,
 45 καὶ ἄμα ἐγέλασε.

A.

There was once a braggart mosquito who said to a lion:
 “You call yourself king of all creatures, but I am comelier
 and braver¹⁸ than you. Your beauty is but¹⁹ breadth of²⁰ chest
 and a shaggy²¹ mane,²² and, when you fight, you bite and
 5 scratch like a woman. But as for me, I range through²³ the
 whole air, and the verdure of the meadows is the garment²⁴ I
 put on when I cease flying. In battle who is so brave as I?

¹ συμπλοκὴν . . . τῶν ὁδόντων, freely, *mouth*. ² ἀπέρρει, *was gone*. ³ γέννυν, *jaws*. ⁴ κενοὶ τῆς θήρας, *cheated of their prey*. ⁵ ἐκροτάλιζον, *rattled*. ⁶ ἐκεκμήκει, *was worn out*. ⁷ παρειμένος, *exhausted*. ⁸ ἐπηγέλει, *sounded*. ⁹ περιττῆς, *excessive*. ¹⁰ ἀπειροκαλίας, *lit. want of taste, shown in his vain-glorying*. ¹¹ ἀράχνης, *a spider's*. ¹² νήμασιν, *web*. ¹³ ἐμπλακείς, *caught in*. ¹⁴ ἀδημονῶν, *distressed, vexed*. ¹⁵ προυκαλούμην, *I challenged*. ¹⁶ ἡγρευσεν, *caught*. ¹⁷ χιτών, *web*.

¹⁸ *Braver*: avoid *ἀλκιμος*. ¹⁹ *But*, *μένον*. ²⁰ *Breadth of=a broad*.

²¹ *Shaggy, λάσιος*. ²² *Mane, χαλτη*; or the text may be followed.

²³ *Range through, νέμομαι*. ²⁴ *Is the garment, etc.=I put on as a garment*.

For one might say that I am wholly an engine of war, seeing that I am at once trumpeter and bowman—yes,¹ and arrow, too. For, at the signal,² I take my stand in line, and my wings drive me through the air, so that I, myself, inflict the wound. And he that is smitten, though he seek, finds not him that smote him; for though there he is not there, and though he flees, yet he wounds his foe, and he laughs him to scorn as he sees him dancing in pain.³ But there is no need of words. Fight, if you dare;⁴ and see if your strength⁵ and size avail⁶ you at all.”

B.

When he had said this, the mosquito fell upon the lion, assailing him wherever his face was hairless and flying about⁷ and buzzing constantly. And the lion was furious; but, though he whirled about and snapped at the air, could not catch his tiny⁸ foe, but his teeth clashed vainly.⁹ For the mosquito flew between them as they closed, and stung¹⁰ his very lips. At length, wearied with¹¹ thus fighting the air, the lion lay there conquered, and the mosquito flew about him buzzing his song of victory. But in the midst of this¹² he fell unawares into the web of a spider, and was unable to escape. Thus he who had conquered the lion was himself conquered by a spider; but, even thus,¹³ he laughed, and said: “You, too, lion, must needs beware of the spider’s web; for it is stronger than I who have overcome you.”

¹ Yes, and: cf. XXX, note 4. ² At the signal, ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος, or use a temporal clause. ³ In pain, ὑπὸ λύπης. ⁴ Dare, τολμῶ.

⁵ Strength, ἥψη. ⁶ Avail, ὥφελῶ.

⁷ Flying about, περιπέτομαι. ⁸ Tiny, μικρός. ⁹ Vainly, μάτην. ¹⁰ Stung = wounded. ¹¹ Wearied with, use temporal clause. ¹² In the midst of this, μεταξύ, with partic. e.g. κατανλῶν, or ταῦτα ποιῶν. ¹³ But even thus, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς.

SUPPLEMENTARY EXERCISES
BASED UPON PLATO'S *APOLOGY* AND *CRITO*

SUPPLEMENTARY EXERCISES

I

Apology, 17A ff.

“My accusers, men of Athens, have been shameless enough to¹ utter many lies about me, and, in particular, have dared to tell you that I am a clever speaker. That this is not true you will yourselves know presently, when 5 you have heard me speak. For I have never yet come into court, although² I am over seventy years of age, and I know nothing about the way men speak here. As I heard these men I almost forgot who I was; but do not expect to hear from me a speech so finely phrased. The truth, however, I 10 can speak, and in this I shall prove myself more eloquent than they. Yet I bid you to make no outcry, but rather to pardon me, if I speak as you have often heard me in the market-place and elsewhere. I am, as it were, a stranger and this is my dialect. Never mind, therefore, the manner 15 of my speech, but attend solely to this—whether or not my words³ are true. So shall you show yourselves judges and not advocates.”

II

Apology, 18A ff.

“Many indeed are the accusers who have slandered me, yet the most formidable among them are not Anytus and his fellows but those of long ago. I have the right, there-

¹ *Enough to = so . . . as to.* ² *Although,* omit. ³ *My words = what I say.*

fore, to reply to these first. For from your¹ boyhood you have heard them slandering me, and it was thanks to² them that Meletus dared to bring in his indictment. I cannot call these men up here, for I do not know their names, and in seeking to make a defense against them I am but fighting with shadows. For how shall I refute when no one answers my questions? or how remove from you in so short a time so strong a prejudice? Yet I will try.

“Well then their indictment—for I shall speak of them as formal accusers—says this of Socrates: that he is a wise man who busies himself with³ questioning into things above heaven and things below earth, and that he is a sophist as well, teaching men to make the worse the better reason. This Socrates Aristophanes showed you in the “*Clouds*,” and you heard him uttering all sorts of⁴ nonsense. But, as for me,⁵ I understand nothing about these things, and you yourselves are my witnesses that I never taught them.”

III

Apology, 19D ff.

“Nor could any one justly say that I undertake to instruct men and that I impart these teachings⁶ for money⁷; for this, too, is false. And yet I count it a fine thing to be able to instruct men, as Gorgias and Hippias and Prodicus do. For they go to all the cities of Greece⁸ and the young men eagerly put themselves under their instruction,⁹ and pay them large sums of money, when they might¹⁰ hear whom they will of their own citizens without charge.

¹ Your, omit. ² Thanks to, διά, with acc. ³ With, omit. ⁴ All sorts of, παντοῖος. ⁵ As for me, ἐγώ, at the head of the sentence.

⁶ Impart these teachings = teach these things. ⁷ For money = receiving (or charging) money. ⁸ Greece, ἡ Ἑλλάς. ⁹ Put themselves under their instruction: use σύνειμι, the vox propria for the relations of pupil with teacher. ¹⁰ When they might: use acc. abs.

“And there is in town another wise man of whom I
 10 happened to hear the other day from Callias. For you know
 Callias has two sons, and has spent vast sums on the sophists.
 Well, I asked him whom he purposed to hire as a trainer for
 them, and whether he knew of any one able to make them
 15 excel in the wisdom that pertains to a man and a citizen—
 just as, if they were colts or steers, he would hire a farmer to
 train them. And he answered that Evenus, of Paros, was
 such a man. If this is so, is not Evenus to be envied? I,
 surely, if I could thus instruct men, should indeed plume
 myself; but the truth is,¹ I cannot.”

IV

Apology, 20C ff.

“Now one of you might justly ask whence then this
 prejudice against me arose, if I am neither philosopher nor
 sophist. I will tell you—and let no one of you think that I
 am joking—I am called wise because of a sort of wisdom.
 5 But this wisdom of mine is not such as theirs—a wisdom
 that is beyond man’s reach. Of that I understand nothing,
 and, if any one says that I do, know well that he lies. Hear
 then the whole truth: Chaerophon once went to Delphi and
 had the audacity to ask if any one was wiser than I, and the
 10 god answered that no one was. The word, therefore, is not
 mine, but the god’s; so, I beg you, make no outcry.

“When I heard this I was for a long time at a loss, and
 wondered what in the world the god meant. Wise I was
 not; this, at least, I knew well; and yet he said that I was
 15 wisest. So, knowing that a god could not lie, I finally
 decided to go to some one of those reputed to be wise, and
 thus to show to the oracle that this man was wiser than I.”

¹ *But the truth is, δλλὰ γάρ.*

V

Apology, 21C ff.

“This I did; but, as I talked with this man, I concluded¹ that he was not really wise. Others thought so, and he most of all; but he was not. So then I tried to show him this, and, on coming away, reflected that I might well 5 be wiser than he, for I, at least, knew that I knew nothing. After him I went to others, and with the same result: all thought they knew what they did not, and I, as a result of² this investigation, came to be disliked by these men and by many others. But still I went about, as a new³ Heracles 10 performing labors, ever making the god’s business paramount,⁴ and finally I came to the poets. They, I thought, could surely teach me something; but I found that the matter stands thus: it is not from wisdom that they write their poems, but from inspiration, as do the oracle-mongers; 15 and fine as are⁵ the things they write, they do not themselves know what they mean. Yet, because of their poetry, they think they are wise in other things as well. And the same fault, which the poets had, the artisans plainly had⁶ also.”

VI

Apology, 22E ff.

“It was because of this investigation of mine that people began to slander me and to hate me and to say that I was wise. For they thought that one could not refute another in such matters unless he were wise himself. But, 5 as a matter of fact, God alone is wise, and the oracle plainly

¹ *I concluded* = it seemed to me; use personal constr. ² *As a result of*, ἐκ. ³ *A new*, *κανός τις*. ⁴ *Paramount*, περὶ πλείστον. ⁵ *Fine as are*: use concessive clause. ⁶ *Plainly had* = *were evident having*.

meant this: that he who like me is conscious¹ that he knows nothing is really the wisest of men.

“Now, as I go about thus and test men, young men of wealth and leisure follow me and themselves undertake to do the same things, and those who are proved to know little or nothing grow angry, and say that I am a corrupter of the young. Yet, if you should ask them what it is that² I do, and how I corrupt them, they have only this to say: that such a man is plainly one of those who speculate about things above heaven and below earth and who make the worse the better reason. These things they do say of me, and that I teach the young thus; for these are the things they say against all lovers of wisdom. From this, therefore, a bitter prejudice against me has arisen.”

VII

Apology, 24C ff.

After this Socrates bade Meletus come forward that he might question him. First he asked him whether or not he counted it of prime importance that the young men should become the best possible, and, upon Meletus’s saying that he did, bade him tell the jurymen who it was that made them better—for it was plain that he knew, seeing that he had found out the one who corrupted them. But Meletus had nothing to say, until³ Socrates asked him if silence was not a proof that he did not know. Then, at length, he said that the laws did,⁴ and the jurymen, and the senators, and the members of the Assembly. For Socrates kept asking him, and he did not dare say that any of these were corrupters;

¹ *Is conscious*, σύνοιδα, with reflexive. ² *What it is that*: avoid the periphrasis.

³ *Until*, πρότι, with indic. ⁴ *Did*, omit.

so that, at the last, he declared that all the men in the city made the youths better, and that Socrates alone corrupted them.

But Socrates said to the jury: "You see, gentlemen, that one who speaks thus has never concerned himself¹ about these things. Great indeed would our good fortune² be, if it were true that all men save one make the youths better. But this is not true, as you know well."

VIII

Apology, 25C ff.

"Furthermore, my good friend," said he to Meletus, "you know very well that no one would choose to live with evil men rather than with good. For you know that the evil work some harm to the one who associates with them, and surely³ no one wishes to be harmed. Yet you bring me into court, alleging that I corrupt the youths intentionally. Am I then, for all my years,⁴ so foolish that, although I know that, if I corrupt those who are with me I shall myself suffer harm, I none the less seek to corrupt them? You will persuade nobody that this is so, Meletus, for all men know that the opposite is true and that, if I corrupt men, I do it unwillingly. But, if a man sins unwillingly, he does not deserve⁵ punishment, nor is it right for you to bring me in here. You ought rather to have taken me aside privately and to have instructed me; for, had you shown me that I was doing harm to my associates, and so to myself, I should certainly have ceased. This, however, you would not do."

¹ Concerned himself: imitate the text, XXV, C. ² Good fortune, *εὐτυχία*.

³ Surely, *δηλονότι*. ⁴ For all my years=although being so old.

⁵ Deserve, *ἀξιός εἰμι*.

IX

Apology, 26B ff.

“I have already shown you that Meletus has never had any regard for¹ the youth, but nevertheless I will ask him in what way I corrupt them; for, although in his indictment he says that it is by² teaching them not to believe in the gods of the city but in other new-fangled divinities, I do not understand what he means.”

Then Socrates asked Meletus whether he called him one who believed in new gods or an out-and-out atheist; and, upon Meletus’s saying: “I do indeed³ call you an atheist, for you do not even believe in Helios and Selene, seeing that you call the one a stone and the other earth,” Socrates said again: “Why,⁴ gentlemen, he supposes⁵ he is accusing Anaxagoras, or else he thinks that you are ignorant enough to⁶ believe me, if I should say that these strange views⁷ were mine—views of which the books of Anaxagoras are full, as every one knows. And do you not see that he is contradicting himself? Or does it seem to you rather that he is propounding a riddle to see⁸ whether or not we shall find out that he is joking?”

X

Apology, 28A ff.

“These things are true, Athenians, and, as I think, sufficient to prove that I am not guilty on Meletus’s indictment. The prejudice against me is, however, great, and it

¹ Had . . . regard for: see VII, note 3. ² It is by, omit.

³ Indeed, καὶ δὴ, at the head of the sentence. ⁴ Why, ἀλλά. ⁵ Supposes, οἴομαι. ⁶ Enough to, οὐτως . . . ωστε. ⁷ Views, omit, or use δογματα. ⁸ To see: imitate the text.

may well be that it will convict me, as¹ it has already convicted others.

“To many of you, then, it seems strange perhaps, that, knowing this, I have continued² in practices, as a result of which I am now in danger of being put to death. But do you think that I ought to take into consideration the chance of life or death rather than to have regard to this alone—whether or not my deeds are those of a righteous man? Did not Achilles despise death? He knew that if he slew Hector, he would himself straightway be slain, for his mother, a goddess, told him so; yet he feared far more to be called³ a coward. So he slew the man who had wronged him, and avenged his friend. Such a man was he,⁴ and such were many others of the heroes; and if through fear of⁵ death I had deserted my post, I should have shown myself a man of no worth.”

XI

Apology, 28E ff.

“Would not every one declare that I had acted outrageously if, when bidden by my superiors, I had taken my stand in battle ready⁶ to slay and to be slain, if need be, but should now desert the post to which I have been appointed by God himself? I know not what death is—no, not even whether it is a good or a bad thing for man. But if I fear it, I pretend to know that it is an evil; and I should thus convict myself. But this I know, men of Athens, that, as for a private⁷ to disobey his superior is wrong, so for man to disobey God is wrong; and I will not cease to obey the commands of God, and to spend my time as I have done,

¹ As, ὡσπερ καλ. ² Have continued, διατελῶ, with partic. ³ Be called: use the perf. ⁴ He, ἐκεῖνος. ⁵ Through fear of=fearing.

⁶ Ready, ἔτοιμος. ⁷ Private, στρατιώτης.

even if I must die over and over again. For I count it a shame that citizens of Athens should care for money and for glory rather than for wisdom and for truth; and I shall
15 speak thus to all whom I meet. For, in persuading them to strive that their souls may become the best possible, I serve God; and than this service of mine to God no greater blessing has ever fallen to the lot of your city.”

XII

Apology, 30C ff.

“This is not bravado,¹ men of Athens, but the truth; and I bid you again to make no outcry, but rather to consider this: that, if Meletus persuades you to put me to death, you will injure yourselves, not me. For it is not death that²
5 is the thing to be dreaded, but wrong-doing; and it is on your behalf that I speak, for where will you find another man who, like me, will beset you the whole day long, ever seeking to arouse you from your sloth, as a gadfly arouses a horse? If you kill me, who knows whether God will send
10 another to you? Me he has sent, know it well. Or do you think it is the way of man to neglect his own affairs for so many years and to have regard for yours? This I have done, and coming to each one of you, as a father might or an elder brother, I have sought to induce you to care for virtue.
15 And I have gained nothing from this, nor have I taught for money; even my accusers have not been shameless enough to say this. So my poverty is a proof that I speak the truth, and that I have done these things because God bade me.”

¹ Bravado, *αὐθαδία*. ² It is not death that: see p. 104, n. 10.

XIII

Apology, 31C ff.

“Now if any one of you wonders that I do these things in private and not in public, I have this to say in answer: would it have been better for you and for me if I had entered upon public life and had urged these things before 5 your people, and, on account of this very fact, had perished without helping any one? For you know that if any one, honestly striving for the right, dares to oppose the will of your people, he is slain. Here is a proof of this: I was once a member of the Senate, and, because I prevented you 10 from acting in defiance of law, when, after the sea-fight, you wished to put the generals to death by a single vote, I barely escaped death, although this was under the democracy. And again, when the Thirty were in power, I was ordered, with four others, to bring Leon from Salamis that they 15 might slay him. But I would not do it, although I knew well that they would probably put me to death. Of these things you yourselves are witnesses, and they suffice to make it clear that, if it be not too boorish a phrase, I care not a fig for death. But to do wrong, this I fear indeed.”

XIV

Apology, 33C ff.

“Meletus tells you, furthermore, that I corrupt the youth of our city. But, if they spend their time in going about with me, it is because they enjoy doing it and not because I bid them to. And, if they like to hear men tested, 5 is it therefore plain that I corrupt them? There must be some present here who have spent much time in my company. Will any one of them, now that he is older, say that

when he was a boy I gave him evil counsel? Or, if they do not wish to, let their fathers or their brothers now accuse ¹⁰ me, if they are conscious that their kinsmen, when boys, suffered any evil at my hands. Surely they ought to do this, if this charge is true; and I bid them now come forward. For I see Crito yonder, the father of Critobulus, and Lysanias, the father of Aeschines, and many others. But, ¹⁵ gentlemen, you see that they do not thus accuse me, but seek rather to defend the one who corrupted their sons and brothers, as Meletus says. This is clear proof that he is lying and it was for this reason that he did not summon any of them. He did not forget to; he did not dare.”

XV

Apology, 34B ff.

“This then is my defense, nor do I know what need there is¹ for me to say more. I beg of you, however, not to be angered against me, if I seem to act differently from most men. For, although I am in danger of suffering what seems ⁵ to most of you the greatest of evils, I do not think it right to bring my children up here and to implore you with many tears to let me go. This many of you have yourselves done when on trial in a suit less grave than this, and perhaps I shall seem to some of you to be acting in a spirit of bravado. ¹⁰ But, nevertheless, I will not do this, although I, too, have children; for it seems to me disgraceful for us all—especially² since we are Athenians—that those reputed to excel in manliness and wisdom should show³ themselves no better than women. No, men of Athens, if you are worthy of your city,

¹ What need there is, δι τι δεῖ. ² Especially. *ἄλλως τε καὶ*, with partic. ³ Should show: use infinitive.

15 you will not suffer these things to be done, and those who undertake to bring on the stage these wretched plays will know that you will be far more apt to vote against them than if they kept quiet. For they bring disgrace upon our city, and bid you render decisions that are neither just nor
20 according to law.”

XVI

Apology, 36A ff.

“You have found me guilty, Athenians, and at this I am not surprised. Rather am I surprised, as I think you are as well, that I have received as many votes as I have. Meletus, unaided, would not even have received a fifth of
5 them; so that, as far as he is concerned, I have been acquitted even as it is.¹

“He declares that you must put me to death, but the law permits me to propose some other penalty. What then shall I say? What is it that I deserve? Throughout all my
10 life I have cared nothing for the things most men prize²; I have sought neither wealth nor office. But, going to each one of you in private, I have striven to induce him to care for those things that are really of most worth—for truth and virtue and that his soul might be the best possible.
15 Surely for this it is fitting, seeing that I am a poor man and have need of leisure that I may exhort you, that I should be maintained in the Prytaneum. This, then, I propose; and you would grant it to me far more fittingly than to an Olympic victor.”

¹ Even as it is, καὶ νῦν. ² Prize=esteem of high importance.

XVII

Apology, 37A ff.

“This again is not bravado, though it may well seem so to you; for the case stands thus: if I were conscious that I had ever wronged any man I should consider that I deserved punishment. But, having wronged no other,
 5 shall I now wrong myself? For death I have no fear, nor shall I choose in preference to death anything that I know to be an evil. If I propose imprisonment, I shall have to live as the slave of the Eleven; if a fine, it amounts to the same thing, for I shall have to stay in prison since I have no
 10 money wherewith to pay the fine; and, if I go into exile, how can I expect¹ that others will endure my words, when you, my own countrymen, have been unable to? So it would be necessary for me to wander about² from city to city—a fine life indeed! For to keep silent and to cease exhorting
 15 men would be to disobey God; and this is impossible for me.

“Perhaps, however, you would accept a fine, and, as my friends are ready to help me, I am able to propose a fine of thirty minae. Be this, then, the counter-penalty I propose.”

XVIII

Apology, 38C ff.

“If you had acquitted me, men of Athens, you would nevertheless soon have been rid of³ me; for you see how old a man I am. But, as it is, all those who wish to speak ill of our city will say that you have put to death a wise and
 5 worthy⁴ man. For whether or not it is true that I am wise, many will at least say so after my death.

¹ Expect, *προσδοκῶ*. ² Wander about, *πλανῶμαι*.

³ Been rid of, *ἀπαλλάττομαι*, with gen. ⁴ Worthy, *χρηστός*.

“I wish also to say to those of you who have voted for my condemnation that, if I had been willing to act unworthily of a free man—begging you with tears and entreaties 10 to let me go—you would have acquitted me. Death one can often escape; and by speaking in such a way as to please you, I could have got myself acquitted, as a soldier who throws away his arms and begs his pursuers not to slay him, may save his life. But it is baseness, not death, that one should 15 shun; and this, men of Athens, I have escaped, while my accusers, young and strong as they are, have been overtaken.”

XIX

Apology, 39E ff.

“I wish also to speak to those of you who have voted for my acquittal, for the officers are busy now and this is still permitted me. Wait, therefore, I beg of you, until it is time for me to go away to my death. To you, perhaps, it 5 seems that an evil thing has befallen me, but this is not so. If death were an evil, the prophetic voice which has come to me from boyhood would have checked me either when I came into the court-room or in the midst of my speech. But it did not; and this is a proof that that which has come upon 10 me is a blessing.

“And have we not good ground for hope that it is? Surely, if death is annihilation, it is a blessing. For, in this case, the dead have no more feeling, and death is like a sleep undisturbed by¹ dreams. The nights when one has so 15 slept, my friends, are the happiest in life; not the Great King himself could name days or nights happier than these. If this is so, do not fear death yourselves nor think that any evil has befallen me.”

¹ *Undisturbed by:* imitate the text.

XX

Apology, 40E ff.

“And, if we believe that death is a migration to another place where all the dead are, and if the tales men tell are true, could there be a greater blessing than this? I am now rid of those who call themselves judges but are not, and in 5 that place shall find those who are judges indeed, who, having lived justly in their lives, are now judges among the dead. I shall talk also with Orpheus and with Homer and I shall meet with the men of old who, tradition says, were slain like me through an unjust judgment. And, best of 10 all, I shall be able to test these men and see whether they are really wise; for surely no one will say that there men are slain for doing this, seeing that all are immortal.

“So it is better for me to die, and I bid you, too, my friends, to be of good cheer in the face of death, knowing that 15 to one who is a good man no harm can come in life or after death; for of him and his affairs the gods themselves take care.”

XXI

Crito, 43A ff.

While Socrates was in prison, Crito came daily to talk with him, and once, when he had come very early—for the guard knew him and was always ready to let him in—sat long beside him without waking him, wondering that he slept 5 so quietly. When at length Socrates awoke, Crito said: “I did not wake you, for if I were about to die as you are, I, too, should choose to sleep rather than to lie awake and fret. But you always bear your lot calmly.”

“Well,” said Socrates, “why should a man of my years 10 take it ill, if he must die? But why have you come so early to-day?”

“I bring a message, Socrates,” answered Crito, “grievous to us your friends even if not to you. Word has been brought from Sunium that the ship from Delos will arrive 15 to-day, and to-morrow you must die.”

“No, Crito,” said Socrates, “I do not think it will come to-day. I have seen a dream which I will tell you. I seemed to see a tall and comely woman, who approached me and said, with¹ Homer, that I should reach Phthia on the 20 third day. So, you see, the ship will not come to-day, but to-morrow, and I shall die on the day after.”

XXII

Crito, 44B ff.

Crito — “A strange dream, Socrates; but all too clear. O my friend, do not, I beg you, stay here and be put to death. For I shall never again find such a friend as you are, and, besides this, men will say that I could easily have 5 saved you, but that I cared more for money than for you. Such, Socrates, will be their opinion of me; for they will certainly not believe me when I say that you would not save yourself.”

Socrates — “But, Crito, we should not care for the 10 opinion of people at large. They cannot hurt us.”

Crito — “Yet if they hear one slandered, they can put him to death, and so are able to do him the very greatest harm, to my thinking.² But, Socrates, you are thinking of me, and are afraid that the sycophants will charge me with 15 having contrived your escape, and so I shall get into trouble and perhaps lose my property. Do not fear this, my friend, but listen to me. Is it not right that I should face this danger or any other to save you?”

¹ *With, κατά.*

² *To my thinking=as it seems to me.*

XXIII

Crito, 45A ff.

“You ought not to think of this, Socrates. There will be no need of a large sum, and, if there should be, you may count upon¹ all that I have. Besides this, many others of your friends are ready to do all that they can, and some, like 5 Simmias, have actually brought funds for this very purpose. Never fear, it will be easy to get you out; and do not say as you did in the court-room, that you will not know what to do with yourself. Men will welcome you wherever you go, and should you choose to go to Thessaly, I promise you that 10 my friends there will esteem you highly and see that no one molests you.

“And above all,² Socrates, is it not wrong for you thus to throw your life away when you might live? You have sons whom it is your duty to rear; but you are abandoning 15 them to fare as they may. Yet you should not have begotten children, if you are thus minded—you who claim always to care for what is right. Moreover you make us, your friends, a laughing-stock, as though this whole affair had come about through cowardice on our part.”

XXIV

Crito, 46B ff.

Socrates—“My good Crito, you do not lack zeal; but let us ask ourselves whether you are right or not. For you know that I always follow that argument which seems to me to be best. We have often talked with one another before, 5 and the conclusions we have reached must still hold good

¹ You may count upon, *ὑπάρχει σοι* ² And above all, *τὸ δὲ μέγιστον*.

unless we can find others that are better. But, if we cannot, Crito, you will not persuade me, nor can the city scare me with the bugaboo of imprisonment and death.

“Well then, let us examine the view you have advanced about opinions, that we should regard those of all men. We used to think otherwise, but possibly my approaching death has proved our former view but nonsense. Tell me, Crito, for you are not, like me, about to die: Were we right or wrong in saying that one should regard the opinions of some men but not those of others? And, if this seems to you still to hold good, tell me further if we should not regard only those opinions that are good—that is, those of the wise?”

XXV

Crito, 47B ff.

When Crito had admitted this, Socrates went on to say¹ that it was necessary for a gymnast to pay heed to the praise and blame of his trainer only, and to eat and drink as he should bid him; for, if he scorned his advice, his body would suffer harm. Therefore the opinion of one who knows is worth far more than the opinions of the many who do not know; and he continued: “Just so in regard to right and wrong we must consider only the opinion of the one who knows, if there is such a one, and, if we disregard his opinion, we, too, shall suffer harm, but in our souls, not in our bodies. And just as the athlete would find life unendurable, if his body were impaired, so shall we, if we suffer our souls to be impaired and corrupted. For the soul is of far higher value than the body. Therefore, although the many are able to put us to death, we should not care for them; for not life, but right living, is the thing we should prize.”

¹ Went on to say=said.

XXVI

Crito, 48B ff.

“If this is so, there is no need of our asking what the many will think of us, but we shall consider only whether or not it is right for me to go out from hence. If it is right, Crito, I shall be glad to go, whether the Athenians are 5 willing or not; but, if it is wrong, pray let the matter be, and say no more about the spending of money, the rearing of children, and other such things. Consider then, my friend, and refute me, if you can; but, if you cannot, and our former conclusions hold good, let us abide by them.

10 “We used to say then, that no man should willingly do wrong, and this plainly holds good, no matter what people say and no matter what we have to suffer. For wrong-doing is always wrong. Well then, one who suffers wrong should not retaliate upon him who wrongs him; and, with the 15 understanding that this is so, let us consider whether, in making my escape from prison without the consent of the city, I should not be acting wrongly, and wronging those whom I least ought to wrong.”

XXVII

Crito, 50A ff.

“Suppose then that, as I was planning to sneak away from prison—though you, Crito, would doubtless call this by another name—the laws of the city should appear and say: ‘Socrates, what is this? Why are you seeking to destroy us? For you know, of course, that a city cannot exist without laws or if decisions rendered are made invalid as individuals may wish.’ What could I say, Crito, save that, in this case, the city is in the wrong, and rendered an unjust decision? But, should I say this, the laws might answer 10 that I, as a citizen, have agreed to obey them in all things

whether they are just or not, and that it is right that I should do this. For do I not owe my birth to the laws governing marriage, and my nurture to those governing the rearing and education of children? If so, I am plainly their
 15 offspring and their slave; and they have rights that I have not, so that they may do to me what I may not do to them. As a slave, when beaten, may not retaliate by striking his master, or a son his father, so I may not wrong the state when I think that she wrongs me. For surely one's coun-
 20 try is to be honored and obeyed even more than one's father."

XXVIII

Crito, 51B ff.

"Therefore, Crito, in battle one may not leave his post because of the danger, and in the court-room and in the prison it is the same: everywhere and in all things one must do as his country bids.

5 "And besides this the laws might say that I, more than any one else, have made this compact—to obey them in all things. For, since they grant to all who are not pleased with them the right to take their possessions and go away from Athens to whatsoever place they choose, they, on their
 10 part, may justly say that those who remain promise by this very act that they will obey the laws of the city, and that whoever disobeys does wrong. Now I, Crito, as you know, have confessed that this city and her laws please me, for I have chosen to live here rather than anywhere else and have
 15 never even left the city, as most men do, save when on military duty. And they might also taunt me, and that justly, because when, in the court, I might¹ have proposed the penalty of exile, I would not do it but chose death instead; whereas² now, forgetting all that, I am trying to
 20 sneak away like some wretched slave."

¹ When . . . I might. use acc. abs. ² Whereas, δε.

XXIX

Crito, 53A ff.

“And lastly, Crito, do you think that my escape would really benefit my friends or myself? You, on your part,¹ will be in danger of exile or perhaps your property will be seized, and I—whither shall I go? To some well-governed city? But shall I not seem to those who love their state to come as an enemy and a destroyer of laws and of the youth? And surely I should not have the effrontery to talk to them of wisdom and virtue and to say that men must esteem justice above all else. That would be ridiculous indeed. But I might go to Thessaly, for instance,² to your friends there, and they might enjoy hearing how drolly I got out of prison; but would not many a one say, even there, that it was unbecoming in an old man like me so to cling to the few years of life left him? And, Crito, you would not yourself choose that I should spend my life fawning upon men and going about as their slave, afraid to do or to say what might not please them.

“No, my friend, it is not only right, but it is better for you and for me that I stay here and die. For know well that it is better to be wronged than to do wrong.”

¹ *On your part, μέν.* ² *For instance, αὐτίκα.*

